

**EDWARD NORMAN** is the author of *Church and Society in England 1770-1970*, 1976.

J. M. ZIMAN's most recent book is *Puzzles, Problems and Enigmas*, 1981.

Department of English, University  
of Reading, Whiteknights, Read-  
ing RG6 2AA.

English Department, University of  
California, Davis, California  
95616

فَكَفَّاهُ مِنْ دُونِ الْمَدِينِ



## ELIZABETH R

Elizabeth Longford

The distinguished historical biographer, Elizabeth Longford, presents a completely fresh portrait of the Queen. Full of lively anecdotes and much new information, it comes as close as possible to being an authorized biography. *The Times* £10.95

## A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Asa Briggs

A major new work by England's foremost social historian. Lavishly illustrated throughout, it is 'indispensable and unobscure... offering an exhilaratingly wide perspective.' *Guardian*. 'This is a remarkable book that bears the stamp of its exceptional author.' *The Times* £11.95

## VITA

Victoria Glendinning

A sensitive portrayal of the brilliant public life and complex personal life of Vita Sackville-West. 'Superb... masterly... much more than just a record of events, but an opening-up of understanding and experience.' *The Times* £12.50

## MODERN ART AND ITS ENIGMA

John Alsborg

This radical critique of art from 1800 to 1950 draws copiously on the writings of artists and philosophers. £12.50

## BARTLEBY IN MANHATTAN and other essays

Elizabeth Hardwick

Whether discussing the theatre, politics, Paris or New York, the essays collectively paint the intellectual self-portrait of a subtle, lucid mind that never gives or takes easy answers and ranges very widely in its terms of reference. *Guardian* £8.95

## THE ROSENBERG FILE

A Search for Truth

A reappraisal of one of America's greatest spy trials and a gripping study of guilt and innocence. £16.50

## IN BREACH OF PROMISE

Five Men who Shaped a Generation

John Vazir

A perceptive examination of the lives of Hugh Gaitskell, Iain Macleod, Anthony Crosland, Edward Boyle and Richard Titmuss. £9.95

## WOMEN'S CHOICES

The Philosophical Problems of Feminism

Mary Midgley &amp; Judith Hughes

Provides just the ammunition you'll need to argue your way fruitfully through the 'Eighties'. *Cosmopolitan* Cased £12.95 Paper £6.95

## 100 BILLION SUNS

The Birth, Life and Death of the Stars

Rudolf Kippenhahn

A witty and humorous biography of the stars written for both the professional and general reader. £15.00

## THE RISE OF THE COMPUTER STATE

David Burnham

Shows how computers are changing the way we live. 'Astute yet thoughtful book.' *Washington Post* £10.95

## THE TRUTH THAT KILLED

Georgi Markov

The notorious murder of Bulgaria's 'Sofia Spy' - 'Anyone here in the West who wants to get the truth about the under Communism should read his testimony, which is a masterpiece in the level of first.' *Sunday Telegraph* £9.95

## BRECHT

Ronald Hayman

Well written, thoroughly researched, very readable and most readable. *Sunday Telegraph* Cased £18.50 Paper £8.95

Weidenfeld &amp; Nicolson



## THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX

OCTOBER 28 1983

Archaeology 1197	Literary Criticism 1178, 1193-4
Art 1195	Music 1191
Biography 1175-6	Poetry 1180
Commentary 1186-8	Religion 1199
Drama 1183	Scottish History 1198
Economic History 1181-2	Social Studies 1190, 1196
Fiction 1184-5	Technology 1177, 1179
Topography and Travel 1192	

## INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

ANDERSON, R. D.	<i>Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and universities</i> [T. C. Smout]
ATTRIDGE, DEREK	<i>The Rhythms of English Poetry</i> [Tom Disch]
BANTON, MICHAEL	<i>Racial and Ethnic Competition</i> [Kenneth Kirkwood]
BELL, MICHAEL	<i>The Sentiment of Reality: Truth of feeling in the European novel</i> [Iain McGilchrist]
BORN, ANNE	<i>South Devon</i> [Patricia Beer]
BUXTON, CINDY, and ANNIE PRICE	<i>Survival: South Atlantic</i> [Nicholas Shakespeare]
CORDNER, MICHAEL (Editor)	<i>The Plays of Sir George Etherege</i> [Ian Donaldson]
DONALDSON, GORDON	<i>All the Queen's Men: Power and politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland</i> [Jenny Wormald]
DONLEAVY, J. P.	<i>Leila</i> [David Profumo]
DURRELL, LAWRENCE	<i>Sebastian or Ruling Passions</i> [Valentine Cunningham]
EBNER, PETER	<i>Das Schalljahr</i> [John Neves]
FULLER, R. BUCKMINSTER	<i>Critical Path</i> [P. B. Checkland]
FROST, DAVID L. (Editor)	<i>The Selected Plays of Thomas Middleton</i> [Ian Donaldson]
GIBBER, LANE A.	<i>Married to their Careers: Career and family dilemmas in doctors' lives</i> [Bruce Hepburn]
GIBSON, COLIN (Editor)	<i>The Selected Plays of Philip Massinger</i> [Ian Donaldson]
HAMM, CHARLES	<i>Music in the New World</i> [Peter Dickinson]
HANSON, WILLIAM S., and GORDON S. MAXWELL	<i>Rome's North West Frontier: The Antonine Wall</i> [Valerie Maxfield]
HARRIS, DANIEL A.	<i>Inspirations Unbidden: The "Terrible Sonnets" of Gerard Manley Hopkins</i> [Roger Moss]
HARRIS, DANIEL A.	<i>Veldsakes</i> [Michael Jaffe]
HAZELDINE, PETER	<i>Raphines of the Deep</i> [Stephen Pickles]
HENDERSON, ANTHONY G. (Editor)	<i>The Comedies of William Congreve</i> [Ian Donaldson]
HERSH, SEYMOUR M.	<i>Kissing: The price of power</i> [Adam Watson]
HILL, CHRISTOPHER R.	<i>Change in South Africa: Blind alleys or new directions?</i> [Lucy Mair]
HILLARY, JOHN	<i>Journey Home</i> [Adam Nicolson]
HOLLAND, PETER (Editor)	<i>The Plays of William Wycherley</i> [Ian Donaldson]
HUGHES, THOMAS P.	<i>Networks of Power: Electrification in western society, 1880-1930</i> [P. V. Danekwerts]
JOHNS, CATHERINE, and TIMOTHY POTTER	<i>The Thetford Treasure: Roman Jewellery and silver</i> [Anthony King]
KINTON, EUGENE R.	<i>The Perception of Poetry</i> [Katerina Arthur]
LATTIMORE, RICHARD (Translator)	<i>Acts and Letters of the Apostles</i> [Michael Goulder]
LENER, LAWRENCE	<i>Reconstructing Literature</i> [Imre Salusinszky]
LINDARS, BARNABAS	<i>Jesus Son of Man</i> [J. L. Houlden]
MACBETH, GEORGE	<i>Anna's Book</i> [Brian Morton]
MCLYNN, F. J.	<i>The Jacobite Army in England 1745: The final campaign</i> [John Childs]
MARS-JONES, ADAM (Editor)	<i>Mae West is Dead: Recent Lesbian and Gay Fiction</i> [Stephen Pickles]
MOORE, BRIAN	<i>Cold Heaven</i> [Patricia Craig]
MULLOON, PAUL	<i>Quoof</i> [Neil Corcoran]
NONWEILER, BARRY	<i>That Other Realm of Freedom</i> [Stephen Pickles]
PARFITT, GEORGE (Editor)	<i>The Plays of Cyril Tourneur</i> [Ian Donaldson]
RHOODE, ANTHONY	<i>The Power of Rome in the Twentieth Century</i> [Brian Fothergill]
ROBERTSON, C. J. A.	<i>The Origins of the Scottish Railway System 1722-1844</i> [Bruce Lenman]
ROCKWELL, JOHN	<i>All American Music: Composition in the late twentieth century</i> [Wilfrid Mellers]
ROSENBERG, ROSALIND	<i>Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual roots of modern feminism</i> [Rosalind Delmar]
RUMENS, CAROL	<i>Scenes from the Gingerbread House, Star Whisper</i> [Fleur Adcock]
SCHWARTZ, BERNARD	<i>Super Chief: Earl Warren and his Supreme Court</i> [Geoffrey Marshall]
SHAPIRO, J. A.	<i>Crime in Seventeenth-century England: A county study</i> [Paul Slack]
SHUTTLE, PENELOPE	<i>The Child-Slayer</i> [Fleur Adcock]
SIMONS, GREGG	<i>Are Computers Alive? Evolution and new life forms</i> [H. C. Longuet-Higgins]
STORRY, GRAHAM (Editor)	<i>Plays by Renaissance and Restoration Dramatists</i> [Ian Donaldson]
THEROUX, PAUL	<i>The Kingdom By the Sea: A journey around the coast of Great Britain</i> [James Campbell]
THURLEY, GREGORY	<i>Counter-Modernism in Current Critical Theory</i> [Bernard Bergonzi]
WOLF, ERIC R.	<i>Europe and the People without History</i> [Eric Hobsbawm]
COMMENTARY	
Cinema	HAROLD PETER <i>Betrayer</i> (Various cinemas) [Alan Jenkins]
Exhibition	<i>The English Provincial Printer 1700-1800</i> (British Library) [Alan Bell]
Opera	RICHARD WADSWORTH <i>The Valkyrie</i> (Coliseum) [Alan Hollinghurst]
Television	Book Four (Channel 4) [Peter Kemp]
Theatre	DAVID EDGAR <i>Maydays</i> (Barbican) [Andrew Hirst]
Behind the lines	Robert Hewison
Author	Author
Among this week's contributors	Poet by Andrew Motion
Letters on Difficulties of the Kantian, Schopenhauer, The Making of Modern Freedom etc	Information, please
Editorial	Editorial

## BIOGRAPHY

## BERNARD SCHWARTZ

Super Chief: Earl Warren and His Supreme Court - A Judicial Biography  
New York University Press.  
\$20.00  
08147 7825 9

The record of Earl Warren's Supreme Court from 1954 to 1968 was shorty summarized by Representative George O. Andrews of Alabama. 'They put the Negroes in the schools,' he said, 'and drove God out.' Congressmen Mendel Rivers filled out the picture in more detail. The justices of the Warren Court were 'a bold, audacious, atheistic, sacrilegious and unpredictable group of uncontrolled deists, giving aid and comfort to Moscow.' Richard Nixon - as perhaps the lawyer - was more restrained. The Court, to his mind, had 'weakened the peace forces and strengthened the criminal forces' in American society, and it was 'indefinitely appraised of the need for strict construction of the federal constitution.'

Other descriptions of the Court's work from a different ideological stance are of course available. It might be said, for example, that the Court compelled the racial integration of the Union's schools and public facilities and that they upheld the rights of the socially deprived, besides maintaining the Founding Fathers' prudent separation of Church and State. In addition they might be complimented for discovering behind the broad philosophy of the Bill of Rights liberties unrevealed entitlements of the citizen to privacy, travel, passports, contraceptive advice and sexually explicit reading matter. Truth, as always, has many facets.

On the theoretical plane (though it was not one to which Earl Warren naturally gravitated) the Court was for long divided on one of the major continuing questions of constitutional government, namely the contest between the claims of two styles of judicial behaviour, often dubbed 'activism' and 'restraint'. The temperature of the contest is at its hottest where judges, as in the United States, have the power to quash and substitute acts of national or local legislative bodies. The question can be posed in this way: should the considered decisions of democratically elected bodies be upheld when judges,

who may doubt their conformity with constitutional guarantees, perceive that they rest upon an intelligible legislative policy that is not completely arbitrary? Or should judges weigh for themselves the competing claims of the Constitution and the legislative policy, subjecting the purposes of the legislature to rigorous scrutiny and upholding decisions that impinge upon constitutional guarantees only when convinced that they rest upon a compelling legislative purpose?

Bernard Schwartz has chronicled in upwards of 800 pages a blow-by-blow account of these competing strategies, and some complicating twists, in the Court's business during the fifteen terms that Warren presided over it. It is solid meat for those that have the digestion for it. The materials for such an account are of course more abundantly available in the United States than in Britain, where scholars are unlikely to be given judges' notes and draft opinions, and where the higher judiciary are not supplied with law-clerks who on retirement are prepared to talk at length about their employers and about the opinions that they have in whole or part drafted for them. Professor Schwartz has interviewed thirty former law-clerks of the Chief Justice and all but one of the surviving members of the Warren Court, as well as using the papers of Burton, Frankfurter, Black, Douglas, Clark and Warren himself. What emerges is as much a biography of the Court as of its leader. In each term the Court's major cases are dissected and the developing opinions, concurrences and dissents plotted. The minor squabbles, flatteries, bargains and tantrums are displayed in all their now unsurprising detail. Warren is the focus, but Frankfurter and Black loom very large (particularly in the tantrum stakes).

Warren's first act of judicial statesmanship was to engineer a unanimous decision in the 1954 *Brown* case holding racial segregation in public education to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment equal protection requirement. In what Schwartz calls 'the most severely fractured Supreme Court in history' that was a considerable stroke. Perhaps it can be accounted for by the fact that *Brown* raised different issues from that which often separated Justice Frankfurter from the so-called liberal activists. The fracture was severe enough. In the war years Frankfurter dubbed Black and Douglas the 'Axis'.

Douglas, he wrote to Judge Learned Hand in 1954, 'is the most cynical, shamelessly immoral character I've ever known'. He and 'Hill-Billy Hugo' Black were 'frankly not judges at all'. Frankfurter in turn was, in Justice Potter Stewart's eye, 'as fickle as a high-school girl'. Douglas's phrase was 'that little S.O.B.'.

Frankfurter's alleged fickleness was shown in his early and later thoughts on the Chief Justice. When soliciting his support immediately after Warren's appointment he had used extravagant language about his judicial capacities, but when Warren failed to take in the Frankfurterian gospel of judicial restraint, disappointment set in. The decision in *Brown* also soured relations between Warren and Eisenhower on both sides. Warren blamed Eisenhower for his lack of support and executive implementation of the desegregation decisions. Eisenhower in turn used Douglas-like epithets about the 'former Governor of California', reportedly coming later to say that Warren's appointment was the biggest mistake of his career. (Inspection, incidentally, of Warren's record as a politician and as a state prosecutor might have given some early warning of his marked liberal tendencies in social and economic matters, and in relation to the rights of criminal defendants.)

From Frankfurter's viewpoint Warren's decision-making was unprincipled and 'result-oriented'. Potter Stewart later thought the same. 'If the Chief Justice can see some issue that involves widows, orphans or the underprivileged,' he wrote, 'he's going to come down on that side.' Other areas in which Warren might be deflected from going with the liberal activists were those that involved threats to decency or the family. So in *Roth v. US* in 1957 Warren, unlike Black and Douglas, subscribed to the view that 'obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press' and voted to confirm a state conviction. In *Wyatt v. United States* he dissented from a majority of the Court, who were willing to find an exception to the rule against compelling a wife to testify against her husband. In *Alton v. Alton* he was also in a conference minority on the issue of a six-week residential requirement for the majority thought the disputed divorce in the Virgin Islands. Whilst legislation merely a matter of the state defining its own domicile requirement, Warren spoke of 'the place of the

family in our civilization' and argued that a state ought not to be allowed to dissolve the marriages of citizens of other states via consensual divorce laws.

The journalistic view of Warren (expressed by James Reston in the *New York Times* in 1956) was that he had joined the liberal wing of the Court and become 'a whole-hearted advocate of activism'. When Brennan joined the Court, what *Time* magazine called BBD and W (Black, Brennan, Douglas and Warren) were in some cases able to recruit Justice Tom Clark, and the conservatives, so called, seemed outnumbered. Beyond doubt the tensions on the Court were significantly lessened with the retirement of Mr Justice Frankfurter, whose departure must have brought about sighs of relief on all sides. Frankfurter's persistent professional advocacy of the restraint philosophy had set him at odds with those of his colleagues who, on his view, made humanity the test of constitutionality. He was beyond question the ablest jurist on the Court, but he was also didactic, self-important and given in private to unmeasured invective.

From the early 1960s there developed a further and significant split between Justice Hugo Black and some of his former co-adjudicators. Black's liberal activism in some areas of civil liberties now turned out to be compatible with judicial caution in others. The peculiar liberalism that had led him to interpret the First Amendment free speech guarantee in an absolute way, so as to tolerate no state restriction of speech or writing, also made him refuse to extend its language. So in *Adderley v. Florida* in 1966 and in similar public order cases he would not treat street demonstrations and protest marches as extended instances of the exercise of free speech rights. Nor would he read into the constitution as he saw it social rights not explicitly spelled out. In *Grissold v. Connecticut* he was unwilling to veto the state's right to make unwise or eccentric laws about contraception by finding a right to privacy in the Bill of Rights or enlarging the freedom of assembly and association. 'The right of association,' he told his colleagues, 'is a right of assembly, and the right of the husband and wife to assemble in bed is a new right of assembly to me.' Dissenting with Stewart in *Grissold*, Black rejected any judicial reliance on substantive views of liberty or due

process which he deemed an impermissible recourse to 'natural law' that would allow judges to write into the constitution their own values. That procedure had been lambasted by liberals in the 1930s when it had been resorted to by conservative justices such as McReynolds. Opponents of the Warren court often called for judges who would interpret rather than make the law. But Black was not alone in thinking that he was doing precisely that and rejecting judicial legislation. The results might sometimes appear 'activist', as they did in free speech cases, or 'restrained', as in the 'sit-in' and privacy cases. *Powell v. Texas* in 1967 again saw Black arguing that in voiding a state law penalizing public drunkenness the Court was 'going beyond the proper limits of judicial power'.

Prolonged exposure to judicial biography may well help to fuel the suspicion that arguments about the proper role and limits of the judicial function are easily used as counters to be set out whenever needed to justify action or inaction dictated by attachment to particular values. Cynicism of that kind may be unfair to Frankfurter, Warren and Black, but perhaps not to scholars of a lesser order, such, possibly, as Whitaker, Goldberg or Thurgood Marshall. Goldberg, who came to the Court in 1962, thought it high praise of the Chief Justice to say that 'he followed the path of voicing and voting his genuine convictions'.

It is a small disappointment at the end of Schwartz's impressive labour of reconstruction that he offers no overall judgment of the performance of the Warren Court, especially in the light of the criticisms of its jurisprudence by sympathetic critics, as well as by the authors of works such as *Government by Judiciary* and *Mine Men against America*. Certainly the Court's activity was momentous in its political and social impact. Decisions such as *Brown* and its progeny, together with *Baker v. Carr*, *Miranda v. Arizona*, *Mapp v. Ohio*, and *New York Times v. Sullivan* brought major changes in civil liberties and in the civil and criminal procedure of the states, breaking the mould of *might that had gone before*. The *New York Times* case, for example, as Archibald Cox remarked, 'swept away 175 years of settled law'.

What Schwartz's book enables us to do, however, is to see from a new direction the much discussed polarity

## Shakespeare's Rome

ROBERT MIOLA

A study of Shakespeare's changing vision of Rome in the six works in which the city serves as a setting - *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus* and *Cymbeline* - revealing the influence of Virgil's poetry and shedding light on Elizabethan neoclassicism as well as on the distinctiveness of Shakespeare's concept of Rome. £19.50 net

## Dante and English Poetry

Shelley to T. S. Eliot

STEVE ELLIS

A history of Dante's influence on English poetry, exploring the different guises in which the enormous presence of Dante has made itself felt and showing how this has affected some of the central concerns of Shelley, Byron, Browning, Rossetti, Yeats, Pound and Eliot. £20.00 net

## D. H. Lawrence: 'The White Peacock'

Edited by ANDREW ROBERTSON

This edition uses the final manuscript as a base text, faithfully recovering Lawrence's words and punctuation from the layers of publishers' house-styling, and reprinting passages of censorship. Dr Robertson's introduction sets out the history of Lawrence's writing and revision and the notes identify examples of actual people and places on which the novel is based, explaining dialect forms, literary allusions and historical references. £27.50 net

The Cambridge Edition of the Letters and Works of D. H. Lawrence

## Buildings and Ideas 1933-1983

From the Studio of Leslie Martin and his Associates

SIR LESLIE MARTIN

This book illustrates and describes buildings designed by Sir Leslie Martin and his colleagues, developing the author's ideas about how he determines design, and the units of design; and how an architect may contribute something monumental or virtually anonymous according to the needs of the site. These themes are related to wider issues of the arts and their social uses, issues which are illustrated by Sir Leslie's own work. £45.00 net

## Making the Second Ghetto

Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960

ARNOLD R. HIRSCH

An analysis of the expansion of Chicago's Black Belt during the period immediately following the Second World War. Professor Hirsch details the cumulative effect of legislative action and the violence of ethnic mobs in expanding and reinforcing racial segregation. £20.00 net

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History

## The Cambridge History of China

Volume 12: Republican China 1912-1949, Part 1

Edited by JOHN K. FAIRBANK

The first of two volumes which review the Republican period, this book contains new syntheses by leading scholars, and an introduction by Professor Fairbank which places the period in the context of international trade and influence. Political developments are traced to 1928, and the second, companion volume will complete the historical coverage. £50.00 net

## Representing and Intervening

Introductory Topics in the Philosophy of Natural Science

IAN HACKING

In this introduction to the philosophy of natural science, *Representing* deals with the different philosophical accounts of scientific objectivity, while *Intervening* presents the first sustained treatment of experimental science for many years, using it to give a new direction to debates about realism. Hard covers £20.00 net

Paperback £25.95 net

## Mental Models

P. N. JOHNSON-LAIRD

An ambitious general study of human mentality illustrating how human beings are enabled by various, largely unconscious, processes of thought to construct mental models of the world which they can then manipulate in reasoning. The insight is applied to elucidate in turn the topics of thought, meaning, grammar and, finally, consciousness itself. Hard covers £27.50 net

Paperback £9.95 net

## Elm

R. H. RICHENS

This richly illustrated and truly polymathic work will attract all those to whom the English landscape matters. Dr Richens looks not only at the botanical variability and distribution of elm, but at its use by man from prehistoric times onwards, its intricate relationship with human settlement, its vernacular names, and its place in English literature and the visual arts. £35.00 net

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS



of judicial philosophy on the Court. What he tells us about its inner life shows up the crudity of the contrast between judicial activism and judicial restraint, and its uneasy relationship to other distinctions, between liberalism and conservatism, between narrow and broader theories of interpretation, and between judicial application of law and judicial legislation. It shows us in abundant detail that judicial restraint is not one but a cluster of attitudes. They include at least the following: a disposition to respect precedent; a disposition to decide cases on statutory or factual grounds rather than on wide constitutional principles; a disinclination to assume jurisdiction over lower court decisions; turning on the assessment of factual evidence; a reluctance to put substantial fairness before procedural propriety; a

preference for a common standard of review for all types of legislation; and a high degree of deference for legislative judgment based on democratic or separation of powers grounds (with a potentially lower level of deference for executive officials). None of these dispositions is necessarily conservative in a political sense in terms of the end results of decided cases, though conservatives who inveigh against activism and commend "strict construction" often assume them to be so. On the day that Warren retired from the bench President Nixon, the well-known strict constructionist, attended the Court and the Chief Justice preached him a short sermon. The Court, he said, was "a continuing body". It served the public interest "guided only by the Constitution and our own consciences". He ventured to

point this out to the President "because you might not have looked into the matter". Considered as ceremonial insult, that was superior to any asperity of Frankfurter's. In the end the Warren Court may have weakened some popular impressions about the character of American government and confirmed others. Its record injects some doubt into the proposition that "the Supreme Court follows the election returns". The electorate (admittedly when judicially rearranged into equal electoral districts) has followed the Supreme Court. In that process Earl Warren, given his provenance, served the Separation of Powers well, his leadership underlining the independence of the judicial from the executive and legislative branches. Something of that was seen in the Chief Justice's last

case, *Powell v. McCormack*, in which the Court invalidated the exclusion by Congress of Representative Adam Clayton Powell. There was no way in which the Court could have enforced an order against Congress, but Warren was untroubled by that. Once, when the Court had ordered the release of an army prisoner, one of his clerks had asked him how they were going to make the army do it, citing Andrew Jackson's reported remark that "Chief Justice Marshall had made his decision; now let him enforce it". Warren's reply was "you don't have to worry about whether they're going to do it or not. If they don't do it they've destroyed the whole Republic, and they aren't going to do that." For one moment in July 1974, Nixon contemplated defiance of the Supreme Court's order to surrender his tapes;

but he too knew that such an action would have an awesome significance and that it could not be done. It was the authority of his court and its states and the Federal government that became characteristic of his leadership. Under it the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause acquired a wider than national significance as a symbol of publicly enforced racial and civil equality. The expansion through time of the Bill of Rights would no doubt have astonished its authors. Almost a hundred years ago Sir Henry Maine's *Popular Government* described it as containing "a certain number of amendments on comparatively minor points". In the light of hindsight this was a huge misjudgment.

Kissinger himself has been understandably distressed by Hersh's systematically personal vilification. He is said to be hesitating between a detailed refutation, which would further publicize Hersh's book, and a dignified silence that would allow his reputation to stand, somewhat tarnished, on his own merits. It will be some comfort to him that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has just awarded him its Morgenthau Prize. But Morgenthau too was a German by birth and intellectual training. And that is part of the trouble. Kissinger, like Metternich and Castlereagh, the architects of the Vienna settlement who are to some extent his models, as having more difficulty with their own colleagues and public than with foreign statesmen. Metternich especially, a Rhinelander brought up at the same age as Kissinger came to America, had a wider concept of the world of Europe than those who saw only Austrian interests. "For a long time now," he wrote to Wellington, "Europe has had for me la qualité d'une patrie." The whole globe has something of this quality for Kissinger. White House the most important unit itself, or him, to most of his adopted countrymen.

On the other hand Kissinger's global perspective, which enabled him for instance to see that no Middle Eastern settlement could long endure unless it was endorsed by the colossus along its northern border, and that Brandt's Ostpolitik would achieve results only as part of a wider bargain, did and still does impress Europeans, who are readers of ideological confrontation the Americans and who recognize his approach to international affairs as essentially European. We still await an adequate study of Kissinger's policies and of the extent to which they succeeded. The material for it is a study includes two outstanding essays in the TLS, by Michael Howard (December 21, 1979) and Edward N. Luttwak (October 15, 1982). Both make fundamental criticisms. Kissinger was constantly diverted from his global strategy by the pursuit of temporary and local makeshifts: he allowed the urgent to gain too much on the important, Howard points out that Kissinger's essentially strategic approach was perhaps obsolete when he began to put it into practice. "Military strength and alliances were increasingly irrelevant to a world where change was being determined by social, economic and ideological developments beyond the power of any state to affect more than marginally." While Nixon was for years looked forward to better relations with China by their own sake, Kissinger saw them too much in terms of the great game with the Russians. But both reviewers, the most Europeans, give Henry Hersh's sources have publicly doubted the statements attributed to them, and the implications which he draws, and more are said to have done so privately. Those who consider themselves politically well informed, including the Kissinger's convinced political opponents, seem to be moving towards a consensus that the portrait of Kissinger in *The Secret Diplomacy* is a caricature. Henry is overdrawn to say the least, and that Hersh, who knows well the events he describes, does not entirely believe his own case. Moreover, Hersh's diatribe not against the policies but against the man.

Even so, Hersh has mounted enough evidence of resentment against Kissinger, of his intrigues and of his crowding involvement in the White House, to portray effectively the seamy and slippery sides of his political activity. However, these personal facts, and the general moral indictment of the Nixon administration, are already rather unoriginal, and have been granted. Before Hersh's book appeared, Kissinger was not seen as a lovable man. *The Price of Power* states the case for the prosecution in such detail that, almost without general thesis may be, no biographer will be able to ignore it, and Hersh

## TECHNOLOGY

## On the altar of AI

H. C. Longuet-Higgins

GEOFF SIMONS

Are Computers Alive?: Evolution and New Life Forms  
212pp. Brighton: Harvester. £12.95.  
0 7108 0501 2

Quite suddenly—in the space of about a year—the British public has been engulfed by a tidal wave of literature about the marvels of information technology—IT to its familiars. Not that there is anything specially new about computers as such: for years people have been receiving bills for 0 pounds and 0 pence, and repeating the story of the computer that translated "out of sight, out of mind" into the Russian equivalent of "invisible idiot". What is new is the realization that some of our competitors, notably Japan, are exploiting IT to our economic disadvantage; and the simultaneous appearance on the home market of cheap, compact microcomputers that can be hitched up to the television-set and programmed, even by an adult, to play Space Wars and solve mathematical puzzles. Nearly every school in the country now boasts at least one "micro", at which pupils type themselves ideas in their efforts to commit rigorous theory to "floppy disks", and in understaffed offices throughout the land, overworked secretaries struggle to increase productivity by attempting to master the cryptic instruction manuals of sleek, unforgiving word processors.

But to speak of IT as if it were merely a new technical development like the invention of concrete is seriously to underestimate its impact on the human imagination. Anyone who has actually used a computer will testify to a sense of wonder that a mere machine can be caused to perform complicated feats of symbol manipulation by merely typing into it a string of numbers, letters and marks of punctuation. There is undeniably something uncanny about being able to control a machine, not by brute force exerted on a steering-wheel, gear-lever or brake-pedal, but by the simple act of typing instructions in a secret language on an electronic keyboard.

In the earliest technologies tools served the purpose of converting human effort into useful work; with the invention of machines it became possible actually to replace muscle power by wind, water or steam, but all except the simplest tasks demanded constant human intervention. In a few decades all that has changed; for such delicate manoeuvres as steering a space-probe to Jupiter human guidance is altogether too clumsy, and the only reliable pilot is a computer—programmed in advance with the required orbit and the relevant equations of motion. The preparation of the computer programs that guide a space flight depends of course upon space flight of the highest order; but if all goes according to plan it is irresistibly tempting to attribute to intelligence, or even volition, to the automatic pilot as it carries out the instructions programmed into it. This is undoubtedly the reason for the screen success of Hal, the rogue computer in Stanley Kubrick's 2001: A Space Odyssey.

Arthur C. Clarke, on whose novel the film was based, realized that the electronic computer was already calling in question some of the basic categories by which we organize our experience. Until our own time the ability to use abstract symbols for communication and logical deduction was a human prerogative; now that computers perform some of these functions so much faster and more accurately than we could, might they not ultimately acquire other superhuman powers, such as the initiative and the ability to rebel against their human creators? Clarke developed this idea in the entirely appropriate context of science fiction, of which he is an acknowledged master. Other writers, equally aware of the fascination that computers inspire, but less careful to distinguish between fact and fantasy, are seizing the opportunity to establish themselves as the evangelists of a new religion.

Are Computers Alive?—Evolution

and New Life Forms, by Geoff Simons, is a nontypical of the literary output of the artificial intelligentsia. The author is described on the title page as Chief Editor of the National Computing Centre in Manchester, so we should assume he knows what he is talking about. And just in case any doubt should arise later, we are assured by one Philip Davis on the dust-cover that we are in possession of "an exciting, well-written book". Professor Richard Gregory, always ready with a word of encouragement, adds: "Mr Simons makes a good case for saying that computers are evolving, and they proliferate, and indeed that they live with us." (The overtones of this last phrase are amplified much later in a passage dealing with the more personal uses to which robots can be put.) But Mr Simons, author of no fewer than seven books on computers, is perfectly capable of speaking for himself from behind the anonymity of the publishers' blurb:

Are computers alive? Yes! and they truly represent an emerging family of living species in the world—that is the startling argument of this landmark book. . . . How will we relate to living machines? We need to find the answer soon.

The italics are his; the style is unmistakably that of a religious tract. The ostensible message of the book is that computers and robots are emerging life-forms, and must therefore be treated with all the respect that we normally accord to real people. This proposition is initially supported by the argument that the capacity to process information is a monopoly of biological systems, and also the ability to reproduce; the objection that existing robots cannot reproduce without human assistance is dismissed on the grounds that sooner or later (according to the author) the robots will manage very well on their own, thank you. If Simons were merely concerned to establish that computers are alive in his own sense of the word, it would not need 200 pages for him to do so, but that, evidently, is not his primary purpose, which is to make the reader gasp with astonishment at what computers can do, and just in case their actual achievements to date, such as beating master chess-players at their own game, seem less than astounding, he throws in a number of mind-boggling assertions (some more carefully hedged about than others) about what robots will eventually be like, based on direct comparisons with human beings. According to the author:

Machines are evolving limbs, senses, brains, cognitive faculties, emotion, free will, and the capacity for reproduction. A machine capable of self-reproduction, of sensing the changing world and of taking appropriate adaptive action—must surely be regarded as alive. If you believe all that, Mr Simons, you will believe anything. To suggest that machines are evolving anything at all, in the same sense as the elephant evolved its trunk, is to do violence to the basic vocabulary of biology; as for the suggestion that the component parts of robots can stand comparison with such marvels of biological engineering as the human hand, eye or brain, comment is superfluous. Few now of evidence, and Simons does not quote any, for the existence, even on the drawing-board, of robots that experience emotion or exercise free will; it does not seem to occur to him that the philosophical problems raised by the attribution of feelings such as pain or love, and faculties such as free will, are not just thinly disguised problems of information processing.

Whether Simons's book eventually lives up to its epiphany, recorded on the flyleaf, remains to be seen: Computers have been universally heralded as miracle machines, but we are scarcely beginning to comprehend their staggering potential. This new book—a truly unique first, drawing on extensive study and learning in cybernetics, artificial intelligence, robotics, biology and philosophy—will prove to be a milestone in an exciting new field, that of computer biology. But the book does contain much interesting and thought-provoking

information about the history of computing and of robotics, both in fact and in fiction. One does not have to be a zealous computer-worshipper to agree with Simons's estimate (in an unusually sober paragraph) of the impact of computers on cognitive psychology:

By the late 1950's it was obvious that computers were going to affect psychology profoundly. Already it was clear that the emerging electronic devices could do many of the things that humans and other animals could do: for example they could learn, store, manipulate and recall information. . . . A new and strange psychology/computing symbiosis was developing: computer developments were telling us more about the human mind, and psychological concepts were enlarging our vision of what computers could become.

It is a pity that Simons does not give more space to reflections of this kind, because an enhanced appreciation of nature's own information technology is one of the first signs of recovery from computer mania. Indeed it could be argued that IT's most enduring contribution to our culture will have been the way in which it has forced the psychologist to look for computational accounts of the way our own minds and senses work. How this has happened in the past decade or two is well illustrated by the enterprise of automatic speech recognition (ASR)—the problem of constructing a computer-controlled typewriter that could take down human speech. After all that has been discovered and published by phoneticians, physicists, psychologists and physiologists about speech and hearing, one might imagine that the scientific problems had by now been solved, and that ASR ought to be a straightforward application of the relevant results. Instead we find that

existing knowledge is quite inadequate for the purpose, suggesting that we have been failing to ask the most important questions—those having to do with the computations which the human auditory system must carry out in order to unscramble an audible signal into a sequence of English words—much as the code-breakers at Bletchley Park during the war used computers for decoding enemy messages into intelligible German or Japanese. In fact, the more one discovers about the acoustic intractability of real speech, the more respect one acquires for the effortless ability of human beings to understand it. It is by no means safe to assume that it is only a matter of time before man-made systems put our own mental and perceptual faculties to shame; the claim, repeated in Simons's book, that in a few years' time we—or at any rate the Japanese—will have achieved automatic speech recognition and real-time machine translation of French text must be treated with particular scepticism, because it was such a claim, made nearly twenty years ago, that led to the most humiliating failure yet associated with the enterprise of artificial intelligence.

It is now getting on for twenty years since artificial intelligence first took root in Britain, and those who have been able to obtain the self-styled "AI community" developing into something uncommonly like a fully-blown church, complete with Old Testament Prophets, sacred books, a band of disciples, a Pope, a Devil, a high priestess, a few heretics, and a handful of rampant atheists. (Members of the AI community will save me the trouble of proposing candidates for these various roles.) The gods, of course, are the computers and their steely incarnations, the robots. Step forward, comrades, and let them march into the brave new world of 1984!

Umberto Eco  
THE NAME OF THE ROSE

"The plot is clever and I shall not spoil the sheer narrative pleasure which the book affords by revealing it. . . . William Weaver's translation from the Italian reads superbly."  
Robert Nye, Guardian

"It is not hard to see why this long and lively fiction . . . should have enjoyed such runaway success in Continental Europe and now, in William Weaver's elegant translation, have bowed John Le Carré from the top of the North American sales charts. . . . You'll love it."  
Nicholas Shrimpton, Sunday Times

"The late medieval world, teetering on the edge of discoveries and ideas that will hurl it into one more recognisably like ours, its thought, its life-style, its intense political and ecclesiastical intrigues . . . its steamy and seductive currents of heresy of thought . . . all these are evoked with a force and a wit that are breathtaking."  
Isabel Quigly, Financial Times

"It is never dull; the joke doesn't ever wear thin. What sustains the narrative, apart from Professor Eco's extraordinary erudition, is the reality of the abbey itself."  
Paul Bailey, Standard

"The book fizzles with ideas and vitality and the medieval atmosphere is marvellous."  
Graham Lord, Sunday Express

"A story brilliantly told . . . Beyond the murder, torture and political turmoil, the blood, fire and death, we are left with the enduring values of laughter and language."  
Robert Fox, Listener

"A wonderfully interesting book . . . and a very modern pleasure." Frank Kermode, London Review of Books

"I rejoice, and the rest of the literate world will rejoice with me, that bestsellerdom remains unobtrusive to cybernetic prognostics, and that a work of genuine literature can oust trash."  
Anthony Burgess, Observer

Secker &amp; Warburg

£8.95

## The Metternich model

Adam Watson

SEYMOUR M. HERSH

Kissinger: The Price of Power  
699pp. Faber. £15.  
0 571 13175 1

Henry Kissinger has never been a popular figure in the United States. At the height of his fame and success many Americans applauded his extraordinary diplomatic skill and rejoiced in the advantages which it brought to their country. But he was not regarded as quintessentially American. He did not represent their collective aspirations and purposes, or project these into the disorderly and delinquent outside world. He earned their admiration and sometimes even awe, but not their trust.

Moreover, alongside the Americans who supported Kissinger there were two important factions who actively opposed him, partly from conviction that what he was doing was wrong and dangerous and partly from visceral dislike. On the one hand were the broadly called the left. The function of a political opposition is to oppose; and Kissinger was serving, very effectively, such a political and partisan Republican as President Nixon. But in addition the liberals hated Kissinger because they want America to conduct a virtuous foreign policy, and to be respected and praised round the world for acting in accordance with high moral principles—making the world safe for democracy, anticommunism, opposition to war and to the deployment of armed force.

The American liberals are not so different from their European counterparts. The conservatives, on the other hand, are more uniquely American. Their emotional and intellectual roots go back to those immigrants who rejected the tyrannical and oppressive old country and came to America to find better opportunities and more personal freedom. They understandably value America's geographical isolation and want to keep their country free, in Washington's much-quoted words, from entangling alliances. They do not doubt, as the liberals do, that America is virtuous; they want to keep it strong. They dislike and fear communism, especially the Soviet government which also symbolises all the tyrannical aspects of the old country from which they or their ancestors happily escaped. But Americans of East European origin, this symbolism is particularly vivid.

Kissinger was not concerned with either of these strong and concerned American traditions. As a professor at Harvard, and since, he has looked at the world as a global system of states, and would be states, each different from the others, and valuing its independence and identity, but all increasingly interdependent and none any longer able in this nuclear age to make itself immune from the impact of the others. The states which are thus looked on as an inescapable and dangerous global society need first of all to show restraint in pursuing their interests and especially their cherished principles. A special responsibility for managing the international system devolves on the statesman who conducts the policies of the great powers, which because of their size and

strength of their nuclear arsenals and the range of their interests, can affect the system for good or ill altogether more than smaller states. Kissinger holds that an international system which all the great powers recognize as legitimate—that is, one in which they all feel they have a significant stake and an acceptable say—can be managed by means of rules and codes of conduct, a balance of power (the only alternative, he maintains, is an imbalance of power) and a diplomatic dialogue in order to adjust differences by negotiation. Many differences which can fester into conflict if simply argued on the basis of opposing principles can be resolved or mitigated by negotiation and compromise. "Other powers", he states, "are not factors to be manipulated but forces to be reconciled." Compromise therefore, far from being a partial failure to achieve foreign policy goals conceived as absolutes, as both the liberals and conservatives hold, becomes the basic technique for achieving Kissinger's goal of "stability based on an equilibrium of interests". But it is of course not enough for a statesman to understand this: he must be able to do it. The statesman needs a dexterity in negotiation, a certain knack which Kissinger believed, and when given the chance effectively demonstrated, that he had.

But was it possible to deal with the Soviet Union or China on the basis of these assumptions? Kissinger recognized that where a major power rejects the international order, so that the system itself rather than the adjustment or differences within it becomes the issue, its relationships with other powers are revolutionary. In such circumstances, diplomacy, which he describes as "the art of restraining the exercise of power", cannot function. It was Kissinger's unspoken premise that neither the Soviet Union nor Communist China was any longer so revolutionary as to reject the system itself. A policy based on these assumptions was hard for many Americans, both of right and left, to understand, and harder still for them to stomach. President Reagan's election campaign vehemently denounced Kissinger's approach to international affairs.

A foreigner by birth, with no political constituency or power-base of his own, Kissinger had to find a patron. He would have preferred Nelson Rockefeller, but Nixon became President, and Kissinger was glad to become his personal secretary and, in the eyes of the world, the closest adviser to the role of the Presidency. He has recently restated his view that international differences cannot be settled once for all, and that what is needed, especially between the United States and the Soviet Union, is "a continuing process" for settling those differences that can be resolved and for preventing the irreconcilable differences from leading to war. Kissinger was therefore, at the beginning of his presidency, Nixon's most trusted adviser. He was, however, less impressed by Robert Blake's powerful biography of Durnell, and he has been in Kissinger a man with some of Durnell's qualities. Especially, he seems to have recognized in Kissinger the rare ability to conduct a complex, diplomatic game, which, though neither just, nor permanent, provided an expedient *modus vivendi* that reflected the balance of forces at the moment, and was

each power involved, or at least each great power, what it wanted most. From the beginning both men understood that the policies and the final decisions, and the credit for any successes, would be the President's. Kissinger's task was to elaborate these policies and when they were approved to implement them. Kissinger was prepared for this role: while still at



Harvard he had written, "The achievements of diplomacy ultimately will depend on its objectives, which are defined outside the sphere of diplomacy and which diplomacy must treat as given."

The central problem was to deal with the two great communist powers. The Vietnam war, the Middle East, Brandt's Ostpolitik, important though these issues were, must not be treated in isolation but must be assigned subordinate positions in the grand strategic balance. The nature of Soviet and Chinese government, the hostility of the Republican Party to "world communism", and also Nixon's and Kissinger's own penchant for clandestine intrigue, all inclined them towards secrecy in their negotiations with the communist powers. Moreover, Kissinger brought to the White House a basic distrust of bureaucracy, and especially of the State Department which he regarded as hidebound and leaky. So the two men developed the celebrated "backchannel", which like Louis XIV's secret diplomacy conducted major negotiations without telling the Secretary of State. US embassies abroad, too, became Kissinger's "backchannel", and Kissinger's role of the Presidency. He has recently restated his view that international differences cannot be settled once for all, and that what is needed, especially between the United States and the Soviet Union, is "a continuing process" for settling those differences that can be resolved and for preventing the irreconcilable differences from leading to war. Kissinger was therefore, at the beginning of his presidency, Nixon's most trusted adviser. He was, however, less impressed by Robert Blake's powerful biography of Durnell, and he has been in Kissinger a man with some of Durnell's qualities. Especially, he seems to have recognized in Kissinger the rare ability to conduct a complex, diplomatic game, which, though neither just, nor permanent, provided an expedient *modus vivendi* that reflected the balance of forces at the moment, and was

necessary for the success of Nixon's and Kissinger's vision. But to conduct foreign policy beneath a cloak of secrecy and deception was the opposite of Woodrow Wilson's genuinely open arrival at the professional interests of what Americans call the media, and especially the elite of well-known columnists and broadcasters. These purveyors of a far wider personal following, and mould public opinion far more effectively than the European courtly and political circles, all but a handful of alleged politicians, but well-informed, honest and intelligent

others thrive on buying and disclosing government secrets, on scandal and innuendo. The clandestinity with which Nixon and Kissinger went about their negotiations alienated many influential people who approved of their strategic purposes but believed it could be achieved through more orthodox channels—and briefed the pundits accordingly.

perfidious, office-loving political bastards greedy for power without responsibility. Even Nixon, who figures prominently in the book, is written up to a limited extent in order to write Kissinger down. He is credited with an overall strategic purpose: his own re-election. Re-election is present in every democratic politician's mind, and in Nixon's it was more present than in most. By concentrating on his motive alone, Hersh is able to paint the President's visit to Communist China as an election stunt. "For it was something of this quality for Kissinger. White House the most important unit itself, or him, to most of his adopted countrymen." Kissinger himself is allowed no active as respectable as electioneering. The first paragraph of the book sets the tone and prepares the reader for the exposure of hollowness to come: "After the election there would be much to do. Kissinger, with his antique dress, his hand woven rug, possibly a view of Rose Garden, and fires that were kept burning year-round." The reader who wishes to see the great, or the great, or the guilty men of Vietnam or down to size may be titillated by this opening. We are soon into "Cambodia: the Secret Bombing" (even secret about military operations in warfare can be made to seem un-American), and Chapter Eight (out of forty-one) is already entitled "Decay". But soon the long and very detailed litany of allegation and suggestion becomes wearisome, in the same way as the succession of sexual escapades in pornography. Indeed, the book, for all its guise of seriousness, is political pornography, which excites some readers until they are sated and fills others with accumulating disgust.

Nevertheless this is an important book. Its importance lies not in the nuggets of new information that it certainly contains, but in its insight into the American scene, Angled sharply towards the liberals, it contains allegations designed to appeal to conservative Kissinger-haters too. It has several favourable reviews, especially by left-wing journalists. It remains an active subject of conversation in Washington and elsewhere in the country. A few of Hersh's sources have publicly doubted the statements attributed to them, and the implications which he draws, and more are said to have done so privately. Those who consider themselves politically well informed, including the Kissinger's convinced political opponents, seem to be moving towards a consensus that the portrait of Kissinger in *The Secret Diplomacy* is a caricature. Henry is overdrawn to say the least, and that Hersh, who knows well the events he describes, does not entirely believe his own case. Moreover, Hersh's diatribe not against the policies but against the man.

So much was to be expected. More surprising is Hersh's contention that Kissinger never had any serious purpose at all, that he was mainly concerned to hamper the constructive activities of others such as William Rogers (the Secretary of State while Kissinger was with the White House), the American arms control negotiators and men of goodwill like Willy Brandt and Sadat. Hersh claims that while Kissinger, negotiated directly he proved a bungler, missing obvious opportunities and paying far more dearly for supposed successes than was necessary. There was, it is suggested, no strategic design, no concept of reconciling forces by judicious compromise or of managing the international system so as to avoid a nuclear holocaust. Hersh portrays only a su-

J.P. 11/1/84



## Intellectual war

Imre Salusinszky

LAURENCE LERNER (Editor)

Reconstructing Literature  
218pp. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. £15.  
0 631 13323 2

These unashamedly reactionary essays are presented as the "thinking man's" response to contemporary literary theory. There is bound to be an organized back-lash against post-structuralism sooner or later, but this book is engagingly disorganized by its own eccentricities.

The oddities begin with Laurence Lerner's introductory essay. He says that his contributors (Cedric Watts, Roger Scruton, John Holloway, Gabriel Josipovici, Wayne Booth, Robert Pattison, Anthony Thorby) are united around the following belief: "It should be possible to ask what *la nouvelle critique* has to teach us while at the same time refusing to abandon our belief in reason, in the possibility of meaning, in the conception of literature and in the need for value-judgements." What thread can connect these various items? Reason is like motherhood: I don't know of any critic, *nouvelle* or otherwise, who proposes to abandon it. Similarly with the second and third terms, depending on definition: which meaning, and which conception. The question of "the need for value-judgements" does divide critics, but not along *nouvelle* divide lines.

The main problem with this book is that its authors have not cared to look their opponent squarely in the face. They seem undecided on exactly what *la nouvelle critique* is, failing to recognize that deconstruction, far from being structuralism's new ally, is that very movement which has undone structuralism. Further, several of the contributors connect both movements with Marxism, whereas the one thing they genuinely do share is an

Deconstruction, says Lerner, wants to "free us" from the "ideological prison of literary assumptions". Derrida, he says, believes "that there is no reality outside discourse". These two views seem to be contradictory. Rather than ascribing general and vague opinions to Derrida, it is helpful to view his work as a close and cautious textual practice, a type of exegesis in which all binary oppositions, whether traditional or structuralist, are undermined: including oppositions like the one between "reality" and "discourse". All of Derrida's favourite devices (absence and presence, margin and centre, body and supplement) are best understood as paradigmatic oppositions, which are then used to highlight instabilities within specific ones.

Lerner, however, sees deconstruction as the combination of structuralism and radicalism: "Its practitioners are usually on the Left, and are often Marxists. They tend to claim that nothing is politically neutral, and that the purpose of criticism should be to reveal the ideological implications of the literary work."

Holloway, in his detailed piece on Saussure, has a similar point to make about Saussure's "followers": "Reading their work has left the impression of writers who are confident about their findings in such fields as theory of language, psychology, philosophy, literary criticism, literary theory, for a particular reason. That reason is, their findings are in accordance with - though I strongly believe, not necessitated by - certain wider convictions. These are political and historical convictions, of a 'Marxist' kind, which they appear to hold already; though I should myself contrast the intense intellectual concentration and vigour, and sometimes the splendid writing, of *Capital* with their own work, but

(That final phrase is a copy-book example of what deconstructors would gleefully call "the dangerous supplement": the only distinction being drawn is between two styles of writing, yet it is writing that is "by the way".)

But deconstruction is so obviously anti-dialectical: how could it possibly join forces with "dialectical materialism", any more than with dialectical structuralism? Derrida, sensing that impossibility and uncomfortable with polemic, has avoided any substantial discussion of Marxism. The Marxists know, perhaps better than Lerner or Holloway, who their opponent is. In another recent oddity from Blackwell's lists, *Literary Theory*, Terry Eagleton refers to Derrida as "grossly unidirectional, politically evasive", and has this glib comment on Barthes: "Writing, or reading-as-writing, is the last uncolonized enclave in which the intellectual can play... in heady disregard of whatever might be going on in the Elysée palace or the Renault factories."

The first article in *Reconstructing Literature*, by Cedric Watts, is called "Bottom's Children: The Fallacies of Structuralist, Post-structuralist and Deconstructionist Literary Theory". No attempt is made to distinguish the three groups mentioned in the subtitle. All alike are subject to "The Fallacy of Linguistic Solipsism", "The Fallacy of the Arbitrary Sign", "The Binarist Fallacy" (these are some of Watts's sub-headings) and so on. The article is rollicking fun in its way, but it reduces its enemy instantly to an unrecognizable caricature. Here is Watts's description of "The Jargonish Fallacy":

This occurs when a critic claims or implies that to use a very difficult or obscure mode of expression is to demonstrate one's integrity (for one thereby opposes the conventional and therefore the ideologically conservative), whereas to express oneself clearly and intelligibly is to compromise with the conventional and therefore to support the bourgeoisie. Barthes, Lacan and Derrida variously make this claim.

It is regrettable that this remark is unaccompanied by a footnote. I would be particularly interested to know where Derrida - whose desire for clarity often leads him into an excessive pedantry - makes this claim.

The two best essays in the book, by Josipovici on Barthes, and Booth on Genette, are also the most equivocal. Both essays carefully set out and applaud the systematic insights into narrative yielded by contemporary theory, while insisting that criticism continue to address more traditional questions - of morality, personal vision and the pleasure of reading. Booth's essay displays all the wisdom of the seasoned campaigner, confident enough to take what pleases him from any critical "school", desiring to abolish none.

Roger Scruton's piece, by way of contrast, is an attempt to separate semioticians and genuine critics by a distinction between "convention" and "tradition." Tradition is alive, convention rigid. The semiotician may elucidate convention without the slightest feeling for art; an understanding of tradition requires the love of art. The genuine critic is not the dry professional, possessed of a "certain language", but the man with "taste or judgement", whose responses are "the common property of a culture". The semiotician's dry discourse is only with other professionals, whereas the genuine critic is "capable of entering into cultural relation with the uninitiated reader."

Who is this "uninitiated reader", and why does he want to enter into "cultural relation" with a literary critic, as distinct from a newspaper reviewer? If such a one exists, won't he be better served by someone bearing a "certain language" than by someone offering him "taste"? Scruton approves of Eliot's notion of tradition, and the way he describes it makes it sound like White's Club: "a tradition is something that is made anew by anyone who elects to join it, provided he can succeed in doing so." His idea of "culture", too, seems close to Eliot, and to disclose a class interest. The

culture he cares for "could one day be swept from the earth, and in any case exists only locally". An equally apocalyptic one appears when Scruton advises us to say simply "wrong from the start" to *la nouvelle critique*, or the Land with "a lifetime of troubles studies before us". This essay should be required reading on any mad curriculum.

Robert Pattison sees deconstruction as the first critical method which can comprehend a technique, like Trollope's, where the author presents a realistic text while simultaneously reminding us that it is only a text. But the apocalyptic tone of his main claim against textualism is that it "excludes judgement". This is fatuous, since no other theory he provided an objective basis for value-judgement either. It is time it was realized that the question of value-judgement isn't a question with literary theory at all. Some critics simply always have been and always will be able to make their personal value-judgments interesting, because they are interesting critics.

"One day", says Stevens in *Notes toward a Supreme Fiction*, "they will get it straight at the Sorbonne." This project happily has been abandoned, at least at the Sorbonne. Like literature itself, criticism has always been divided by a war between the Ancients and Moderns, the Solid Chaps and the Trendies, the Amateurs and the Professionals. It is from this contest that a good deal of the impetus of the humanities always derives, which is something of what Blake must be talking about at the end of *The Four Zoës*, when he says that the form war in Eternity will be "indefinite war". It is neither desirable nor possible, by the adoption of an apocalyptic tone, to bring that war to final end, especially since the humanities do not contain final end.

## Reinstating reference

Bernard Bergonzi

GEOFFREY THURLEY  
Counter-Modernism in Current  
Critical Theory  
261pp. Macmillan. £20.  
0 353 33436 1

The minor crises of our cultural life succeed each other quite rapidly. In 1981, Professor Colin MacCabe enjoyed brief eminence as the Dreyfus of post-structuralism, and in 1982 a bad-tempered debate rumbled on in the *London Review of Books* about the Methuen New Accents series and the supposed threat to literary education that it represented. It is just possible that Geoffrey Thurley's *Counter-Modernism in Current Critical Theory* will provide an occasion for the next outbreak. It can be simply but inadequately described as a conservative, though sophisticated, counter-attack on and critical tendencies represented by some, at least, of the New Accents authors.

There have been such attacks before. Like Gerald Graff's *Literature Against Itself* and Helen Gardner's *In Defense of Imagination*, but Graff's book was limited by his narrowly propositional view of literary language, while Gardner's was stronger in polemic than in analysis. Thurley is very strong in analysis, bringing a philosophical training to the examination of Jakobson and Barthes, Derrida and MacCabe. Furthermore, he knows their work very thoroughly not for him the mild, uninformal complaints of some English academics about the beauty of Continental and their mind theories that no one can understand. Thurley understands them all right; though he thinks they are mostly wrong, and uses a relentless logic in trying to show why.

After wielding the analytical scalpel he is likely to give his victim a few good knocks on the head, with the rough good humour of Mr Punch. Thus, he finds himself agreeing with Derrida's attack on Lacan's reading of a Poe story and adds that this need not be too surprising: "no man is incapable of common sense, and what he says is neither original nor especially acute". He remarks of Geoffrey Hartman's recent work, "This is characteristic paper-tiger deconstructionism, unable to follow Derrida into the wilderness of mirrors, yet uncomfortable in the presence of honest empiricism."

He is a refreshingly rude writer and no respecter of persons; his energetic style and bursts of witty exasperation directed at the practitioners of error help one through the tougher and more technical parts of his argument. His own view of literature is avowedly empiricist, in that he accepts the reality of the world outside the text and assumes that the text does in some sense, however complex or oblique, relate to the world. He also believes that literature involves the expression of personal emotion, often in indirect ways, so that "literary" is an appropriate aesthetic, but he projects a rather special version of Lewis, he assumes that there are such things as specifically literary and aesthetic values that we go to literature to encounter, which is not an assumption that Lewis would have accepted.

Thurley complains that "stylistic, structuralist or post-structuralist criticism usually contents itself with the detailed description of a text, or what he calls 'transmission'; such description is inadequate, unless it leads on to interpretation, where we intuitively apprehend the text's 'internal dimension' of 'real form', 'getting' a poem is rather like 'getting' a joke. Interpretation inevitably involves evaluation, in so far as we ask ourselves

whether this poem - compared with others - is worth reading, and why. Thurley makes a lively excursion into philosophical aesthetics to show how "good" poem is different from a "good" tennis-player or a "good" bicycle.

Thurley's analytical power is reinforced by a sense of intellectual history, so that he can place structuralism as something with roots deep in the French tradition, reflecting the Cartesian split between the mind and the world, reinforced by symbolist poetics.

If it is the defining error of empiricism to assume that only statements meant to be checked against the world deserve serious attention, it is the defining error of the new French rationalism (Poucault, Piguet, Barthes, Derrida and others) to assume that because some statements cannot be verified, all statements can; and hence that all statements fail to refer, leaving us with discourse - language without anchorage in time, space or history.

Salusinszky's distinction between the signifier and the signified, and Barthes's opposition between *littérature* and *scripture* texts, are both claims, untenable, and, I find, an argument convincing. Unlike most Anglo-American defenders of deconstructionism he has no hesitation in calling it "less a philosophy than the decadence of a philosophy" and regards Derrida as a nihilist. These are matters to be argued about, no doubt, but if this challenging book is to have to be read as it deserves there will have to be an argument, conducted with philosophical rigour that has been common in recent critical theory where unsupported assertions frequently take the argument and analysis. It will give *maîtres de méditation* of the give something to think about.

## TECHNOLOGY

## How the West was wired

P. V. Danckwerts

THOMAS P. HUGHES

Networks of Power:  
Electrification in Western Society.  
1880-1930  
434 pp. John Hopkins University  
Press. £32.75.  
0 8018 2873 1

"Communism", said Lenin in 1920, "represents the power plus electrification." The transmission of the power of the central machine (even today there are parts of the Soviet Union which have no electricity supply), which have no electricity supply, with the development of electricity in the industrial countries (the US, Germany and Britain) during the half-century 1880-1930. During this period the industry was transformed from the domain of the inventor-entrepreneur (of whom Thomas Alva Edison was the prototype) to that of the nationwide, semi-socialized corporation with explicit social responsibilities of the kind envisaged by Lenin.

The most interesting part of the book deals with the inventor-entrepreneurs who worked for no master, but themselves raised the finance, built the power-stations, laid the cables and sold the product - initially in the form of electric light, which was more expensive but more useful than gas-light and so could be sold at a premium to stores, offices, hotels, restaurants and expensive houses in downtown New York. The first of such stations was in Pearl Street, New York, and came on stream in 1882. It did not prove to be a financial success (no charge was made to customers in 1882) and was kept going mainly as a demonstration plant, to be used to promote Edison's projects in other cities and overseas.

In this country, the Holborn Viaduct Station was opened with much fanfare in 1882, and failed quietly in 1885. At this time there was a flurry of speculation in electricity shares akin to the South Sea Bubble or the railway mania, and many punters lost their shirts.

Edison is perhaps the best-known member of the "good old American know-how". He made sense of the "better mouse-trap" theory attributed to Emerson (who in his list of organ-pipes but not mouse-traps among the artefacts which would cause the public to beat a pathway to the forest-dwelling inventor's door). Many of the patents in Edison's name are attributable in fact to the remarkable team which he assembled at his laboratory and workshop in Menlo Park, N.J. One of his collaborators left an acid note on him:

When an abnormal man can find such abnormal ways and means to make his name known all over the world, with such rocket-like wilfulness, and accumulate such wealth with little real knowledge, a man that cannot solve a simple equation, say such a man is a genius or let us use the more popular word - a wizard. So was Barnum Edison is and always was a shrewd, witty businessman without a soul, an electrical and mechanical jobber, who well understood how to "whop things up", whose only ambition was to make money... while the work of Upton is hidden in the lore of progressive science and research.

Francis "Culture" Upton was a scholar and a gentleman and lucky to have been invited to the over-heated atmosphere of Menlo Park. Edison's standard electric generator was called "Jumbo" after Barnum's famous elephant. The Edison myth gives a rather different impression of a "vague, untidy inventor" who was "sentimental to change his mind when folk were invited to supper" and "absent-mindedly undressed and went to bed" on the other hand, when the Pearl Street Station was being installed in New York. Edison spent long hours writing in the hot summer sun with the windows as they were with the sun. The difficult task of laying the underground cables in dug-out trenches in the streets. He would sleep

for a few hours on piles of tubes stacked in the building station.

In the early days of electricity supply most of the inventions were made to order and evoked no cries of "eureka". Edison's most famous patent in the electrical field was that of the high-resistance carbon-filament lamp; this was closely related to his invention of "the subdivision of the electric light", which he regarded as equally important although few of us have heard of it. The requirement was for a durable lamp of high resistance which would entail a small current and thus copper wiring of small diameter; the cost of copper was always a substantial factor. The "subdivision" involved the splitting of the output of a central power station into convenient domestic streams. Before Edison most electric-lighting enterprises had been based on the arc-lamp, and anyone who has operated an old-fashioned magic lantern or searchlight will realize how glaringly inappropriate this source of light was for domestic illumination. Worse still, it involved large currents, thick wires and a correspondingly high expenditure on copper.

Among Hughes's persistent themes are "systems engineering", "reverse salients" and "critical problems". In the context of electrical supply, systems engineering seems to mean that all factors are taken into account, such as the price of copper and the price of politicians, the social habits of electricity users and the matching of steam-engines, generators and distribution networks. The reverse salient is a part of the general front of technological advance which has been relatively left behind; the critical problems are those which have to be solved in order to iron out the reverse salients.

The major part of the book is concerned with such subjects as how to expand from one parochial base to a multitude, how to link the multitude into a nation-wide network, exploitation in Europe and the interaction of electricians, financiers and politicians. This will be of absorbing interest to students of the history of industry and technology but tends to be dull for the general reader. The book is extremely dense and contains as many names, dates, balance-sheets and general references as any scholar could wish for.

Initial development in the US was fairly simple: the country was dedicated to free enterprise; local authorities had complete control of utilities and local politicians were "pliant". Initially there was a proliferation of small stations distributing power over a radius of a mile or so. Eventually their borders met and thereafter mergers, big business and its accommodations became the principal themes. Electricity distribution is one of the most subtle of utilitarian functions. Large amounts of capital are invested in generating plant and yet in the natural course of the year when people in the day and the night do not use a particular neighbourhood do not use much electricity. The overwhelming consideration became "maximizing the load factor" - that is, keeping the generators running profitably 24 hours a day throughout the year. This load factor is still the major preoccupation of electricity enterprises (of whatever political complexion). The simplest idea is to follow the sun: the peak load travels round the world at about 1,000 miles per hour. (Electricity travels at about 185,000 miles per second.) When the householders of New York State have switched off their lights, their counterparts in California are beginning to stir, and transmission does not cost too much. Transmission from north to south can also be sensible practice. For instance, the load on the southern half of the eastern seaboard of the US is higher in the summer than in the winter, because of the air-conditioning units which alone make life tolerable in the southern states. More recently, the exchange of electric power across the straits of Dover has been instituted. Differences in social customs and perhaps the one-hour disjunction between the band of brothers who comprise the EEC have led to a difference in the pattern of electricity use which makes the exchange worthwhile.

For technical reasons the transmission of low-voltage direct current (DC) which had been adequate for the pioneering small stations proved to be inappropriate for the transmission of large amounts of power over longer distances, which required high-voltage alternating current (AC). Thus arose the "battle of the systems", which might be symbolized as Edison (low-voltage DC) vs Westinghouse (high-voltage AC). As a "battle" it was pretty bloodless: so much capital had been sunk in Edison's system that no one could afford to buy him out. The infinite versatility of electricity made it possible to continue to use the power generated by the old systems; devices were invented for transforming low voltage to high voltage, direct current to alternating current and vice-versa, and for matching voltages and frequencies to a national standard. This marked the end of the individualists and the predominance of the nationwide utility companies.

The so-called "battle of the systems" had one unexpected side-effect. In July 1888, Harold Brown electrocuted a dog with high-voltage AC current in the belief that this would limit AC to 300 volts, and strike a blow against Westinghouse. Interference in fact the electrocutions were extended to horses and humanitarians decided that this was the ideal system of execution for murderers. Westinghouse, with the greatest reluctance, provided a generator, which was used to carry out the first judicial electrocution in 1890. A campaign was launched: "Do you want the executioner's current in your home and running through your streets?" It was expected that the electric chair would be called the "Brown" by analogy with the Guillotine, but the name was too anodyne to have any public appeal.

The later chapters of this book are in general less picturesque, dealing as they do with the financial wheeling and dealing and the political manipulation which accompanied the interconnection of electrical systems in the US and the export of American technology to Europe. Each country had its own political drama. In Britain, according to Hughes, the 1880s marked the beginning of the end of laissez-faire economics. No doubt it was typical of the times that matters which could be settled in City Hall in the US prompted in Britain a select committee of the House of Commons within two weeks of the Holborn Viaduct opening. As President of the Board of Trade, Joseph Chamberlain (a municipal socialist and also a theoretical republican) sponsored the Electric Lighting Act of 1882. It is difficult to understand why the entrepreneurs promoted this legislation (they gave a banquet for the Speaker and leading members of the House), under the terms of which they took all the risks and could hardly expect to make any profits. When they were all on the verge of ruin they blamed the Act, and amendments were enacted in 1889. Hughes claims that all this was part of the depression of 1882-87, which industrialists failed to recognize.

An upswing hero of electrical engineering in Britain was Charles Merz, who founded the still famous consulting-engineering firm of Merz, McLean and Co. Merz, who was a member of the House of Commons, having become heir to the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Company (NESCO), which was far ahead of other British generating and supply organizations of the time, he cast his eye on the chaos of London, which by 1905 was lagging far behind such cities as New York, Chicago and Berlin. Legislation was passed and found his County of London and District Electric Power Company (Board) was heavily going. "My dear young friend," this is not a question of engineering. The Webbs and Bernard Shaw viewed municipal ownership of public utilities as an essential element of a well-organized society. The technical advantages of an efficient power system became secondary to the dispute on public versus private ownership, and the whole question of the London electricity supply remained in dispute until 1914. In the meantime Merz had made a mistake to

which imaginative engineers are prone (cf Brunel and the SS Great Eastern); he used technology which was too daring for his time, although standard in the twenty years later, in building the Deptford Power Station which was to be supplied with coal by river and supply central London in turn with electricity. Transmission was to be by 10,000-volt underground cables. When doubts were expressed about the safety of this technique Merz had one man hold a cold chisel against the cable while another swung a hammer and cut the cable in two. The only result was that the fuses in the power station blew. (The present grid system operates at 400,000 volts.) Nevertheless, the Deptford Station was plagued by electrical failures and interruptions of supply and eventually had to be shut down and re-equipped.

Hughes pays very little attention to the prime movers (generally steam engines, sometimes hydraulic turbines) which drove the electric generators. Sir Charles Parsons, the principal developer of the steam turbines which now drive most base-load power stations, gets little mention, but Kipling could have made good use of the following description of one of the earliest turbine-driven stations at Manchester Square, London:

The resourceful operators kept the turbines running for a year and a half, despite the loss of one-third of the turbine blades. They cooled overheated bearings with water and oil - at least until the smoke drove the crew out of the engine house. They held relay valves open with corks and tied weights onto the starting levers. The engineers seem to have approved highly of the new steam engines - at least, years afterwards when they were writing their memoirs.

The war of 1914 (or 1917) introduced new considerations. In peacetime nitrate for fertilizers and explosives had been imported from Chile, but now both Germany and the US built enormous generating stations to provide the power to make nitrate from the air (this was beyond the capabilities of British chemical technology). As a result they were left in 1918 with white elephants, though the great American station at Muscle Shoals eventually became, after many vicissitudes, the keystone of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In Britain the war stimulated radical thinking about reorganization of electrical supply under Government control. There was the usual proliferation of public enquiries (Merz, generally being a leading protagonist). vested interests in the form of small companies, both public and private, fought fiercely against absorption by larger ones. It was not until 1926 that the British enacted legislation establishing the "grid" which formed a nationwide system of interconnections by transmission lines supported on pylons that are such a noticeable feature of the countryside today. This was a political rather than a technological feat, and enjoyed bipartisan support. It was felt that the failure to electrify British industries was a root cause of the country's falling industrial strength, which had been giving increasing anxiety since the second half of the nineteenth century. Also, the grid effected no radical cure for the British disease.

However, it is a comfort that however late we may have been with our grid system, it can never (we are told) undergo a total failure such as that which plunged the north-eastern seaboard of the US and Canada into darkness during the night of November 9-10, 1965. Many citizens of New York were trapped in offices, elevators and subways; television screens went black. The Statue of Liberty remained lit only because it drew its power from New Jersey.

The *National Trust Guide to Our Industrial Past*, by Anthony Burton, was published earlier this year (240pp. George Philip. £12.50, 0 540 01072 3). Roads and rails, windmills and water-wheels and wealth from underground - all aspects of industrial archaeology are considered in this complete guide to the major sites of Britain's industrial heritage.

## New Books for October

## HISTORY

## Hungary 1956 Revisited

The Message of a Revolution - A Quarter of a Century After  
Ferenc Feher and Agnes Heller

This is a radical book: radical in one sense in that it is a reinterpretation of the revolution in the context of world politics and Eastern Europe as a whole; and radical in another sense in that it reveals totally new features and angles on an event which went beyond the simple question of a people having had enough of communism. 191 pp. Hardback \$15.00

Europe in 1830: Revolution and Political Change  
Clive H. Church

The crises of 1830 thrilled and shocked Europe at the time, but they have since often been misunderstood and seen as just a few sporadic upheavals. In the light of recent studies abroad on revolutions in individual countries, the author takes a general look at what happened. 222 pp. Hardback \$15.00

## GENERAL

The High Kings  
Joy Chant

A selection of pre-Arthurian myths vividly narrated by one of the leading novelists of fantasy and brought to life by the specially-commissioned, full-colour illustrations by George Sharp. 237 pp. Hardback \$12.95

## FICTION

## Book of Lost Tales: Part 1

J. R. R. Tolkien  
Edited by Christopher Tolkien

The first major work of imagination by J. R. R. Tolkien, begun in 1916-1917 when he was just twenty-five years old and left incomplete several years later. It stands at the beginning of the entire conception of Middle-earth and Valinor. A must for Tolkien enthusiasts. 297 pp. Hardback \$12.50

George Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd  
PO Box 18, Park Lane  
Hemel Hempstead  
Herts HP2 4TE

## The Loyal Americans

by ROBERT ALLEN

With a Foreword by George F. G. Stanley, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick

This is the story of those colonists in British North America who remained loyal to the Crown, and united against the revolutionaries of 1776.

Until recently, historians in England and the United States have either ignored or dismissed the loyalists as unimaginative jackboots. But this picture is not entirely accurate. The Loyalists included not only those in public office but many for whom loyalty to England was determined by the interests of transatlantic trade or local politics. Allen's book follows the misfortunes of these patriots: the plight of the provincial corps, the mass exodus through New York of 40,000 subjects who migrated to other British colonies, and the settlement of many more in Eastern Canada, where they were to have a profound influence.

Sponsored by the Canadian War Museum, this book is distributed for the National Museums of Canada.  
October, 1983, 208 pages, 75 photos, \$12.00

## Military Uniforms in Canada, 1665-1970

by JACK L. SUMMERS &amp; RENE CHARTRAND

Illustrated by R. J. Martin  
1981, 220 pages, 41 colour illustrations, National Museums of Canada, \$28.00

## The University of CHICAGO Press

120 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1W 9SD



# Leisure and privacy

Fleur Adcock

CAROL RUMENS

Scenes from the Gingerbread House  
Unnumbered pages. Newcastle upon  
Tyne: Bloodaxe. £1.  
0 906427 27 4

Star Whisper

69pp. Secker and Warburg. £4.  
0 456 43901 8

PENELOPE SHUTTLE

The Child-Stealer  
63pp. Oxford University Press. £4.95.  
0 19 211956 7

Carol Rumens has published two full-length collections and a pamphlet of poems within the space of three years. This fecundity has been accompanied by a visible progression into confidence and maturity of technique. Some of her earlier work had an air of the creative writing exercise about it, and even her latest book includes a villanelle (seldom a good idea); but there is much to admire in these two recent publications.

The Bloodaxe pamphlet, *Scenes from the Gingerbread House*, is a carefully organized sequence of nine poems, recalling episodes from a pinched, restricted childhood spent in the house of grandparents and blighted by shadows of what were, for the child, mysteries: a mongol aunt, a dangerous illness, a father declining gently into failure and despair, grandparents still embittered by the death of their baby son a generation before. The claustrophobic privacies of this life are mimed by the way each poem is tightly laced into the next by theme or imagery or both. At the end, though, there is an opening out into "a seeing at the back of my eyes" — France viewed from the pier at Folkestone, only "a smear of cloud" but France nevertheless.

A rather more ambitious and more finished sequence, *Star Whispers*, is a collection of nine poems, headed by two neatly juxtaposed epigrams, one from the Prince Regent boasting that his park "will quite eclipse Napoleon" and one from Napoleon himself on love as "the whole concern . . . of leashed societies". Less populated the park — "footmen and maids abandoned in the grass", strolling couples, paired swans — and the writing gleams and sparkles with imagery of colours, textures and light; but as the poems follow one another the atmosphere grows chillier and darker: tulips and roses give way to horse-chestnuts and finally to snow; there is a subtly managed modulation from excited discovery into what the final poem calls "a statement of loss". Each part presents a different scene, but one of the underlying stories is of a marriage; the second poem, "College Path", reminds us that Regent's Park harbours not only water-fowl but students: "I set out for Philosophy / and left clutching Marriage". Philosophical tags and concepts flit among the flowers, beds, deer-chairs and slowly fading vistas, and the idea of marriage slays around too; in "Dark Path" a pair of black swans "float their listless epichalamum. / Better, they'd say, an unadorned pair / than one in deep love alone."

Clearly the concerns of this sequence are more than narrowly personal; a "leashed society" is subjected to the threat of any individual relationship, and the metaphors used, even of "boyish" tricks, with menace flit the effort to perform "the dandified ballet / of the fringed quill" (poems "are better than most of India", chestnut trees "pick little white embryos / at their feet"). Life is always on the verge of a "missed shot". In some these violent images do not lie, although there are times when Rumens appears to be wearing her social conscience on her sleeve.

The rest of the collection, however, shows a consistency between thought and its expression. Her moments of "leashed society" are not confined to stillation; if her metaphors go over the top, as they occasionally do, this does not make her wish for "leashed effect" but out of a serious habit of mind: her imagination is "naturally vivid and pictorial", and her preoccupation with public and political violence seems

honourable and not assumed. The poems with which the collection opens refer often to Eastern Europe; they are full of exiles and émigrés, people making painful adjustments or failing to adjust at all: Czechoslovakia, in "Geography Lesson", is a weeping refugee child, "all the hurt geography / own"; the title poem (as crystalline and beautifully crafted as a snowflake, although its conclusion doesn't bear close scrutiny) is about Siberia. Rumens sets herself challenges which a less adventurous writer would avoid, and as often as not her daring pays off; her failures, when they occur, are of tact.

The remaining poems have a mixture of themes; there are love poems, family poems (for her daughters and her mother), and a poignant, sensitively controlled elegy for her father, "An Easter Garland" which combines images of spring and of the Biblical Easter story with that of the sick man mowing his daughter's lawn. There are also urban scenes: Cambridge, North Croydon, the South Circular Road. Rumens writes with the toughness and, when she's in the mood, the neon dazzle of a native Londoner. The range and vigour of this collection are impressive.

Penelope Shuttle's is a more private world, almost entirely limited to her house, her garden, and the confines of her own skin, with the dreams and memories which fill her head and the fluctuating hormonal surges which govern her body. Her first collection, *The Orchard Upstairs*, was notable for its agonized or celebratory accounts of menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth. This new book also has several poems which trace (or seem to trace — some of them are so wreathed in symbolism that it is difficult to tell) the effects on women of the menstrual cycle and the presence or absence of pregnancy, but they are less immediately physical: instead of "this pulp of womb" or "the bloody holy hole" we have "the verb of the cervix" and "a phoenix the colour of blood". Of these little allegories, "Mermaids" is the most striking. It is about a girl, Lilith, who causes unborn babies to fall out of the circle. / Lost forever" are among the more successful: one doesn't have to like this type of verse to see when it is done well.

In addition, though, this collection contains work in a plainer, more prosaic style about observed external events or people, and in particular the author's daughter. This could have been a promising development, but in fact it looks more like regression: in descending from her lyrical exaltations to something more down-to-earth Shuttle has allowed her rhythms and language to become not merely pedestrian but flat-footed. Two of the poems for her young daughter begin attractively but decline into sententious explications and naive soul-searching — "Am I right to warn you / of their imperfections?" Elsewhere she draws ploddingly spelt out object-lessons from nature or offers little sermons about old age. There are some good phrases — "I gasp and the hoop of breath / bowls me along" — but also some truly awful ones — "the motionless sweetness of the twin" — Shuttle has always been an uneven poet, because an instinctive one. She would have done better to rely on her instinct, which was accompanied by a fairly sound poetic ear, than to attempt modes for which her talent is not suited. Some of the descriptive pieces, "In this book / 'Indoors and Outdoors' / 'Twilight'" work well enough, but elsewhere they give the impression of being false to her natural gift.

Paul Muldoon's *Quoof*, reviewed here in The Poetry Book Society's Autumn Choice. Recommendations are Alan Brownjohn's *Collected Poems* and *Edible Antedotes and Other Poems* by Julie O'Callaghan (both to be reviewed in a future issue of the TLS). In The Society's Autumn Bulletin Paul Muldoon remarks of his long poem "The More a Man Has the More a Man Wants": "I hoped to purge myself of heavy public vocabulary if I employed the language of the hourly news bulletin in so far as it's about anything; the poem is about the loss of a sense of the English language in Ireland. Indeed, the form of the poem is the central character is English."



"Feet 133", 1957, a photograph by Aaron Siskind; from Aaron Siskind: Pleasures and Terrors, by Care Chiarenza. 283pp. New York Graphic Society / Hutchinson. £30. 0 8212 1522 2.)

## The shy trickster

Paul Muldoon

*Quoof*  
64pp. Faber. £4.  
0 571 13117 4

The cover of Paul Muldoon's new book tells us that the very long poem forming its second half, "The More a Man Has the More a Man Wants", is loosely based on the Trickster cycle of the Winnebago Indians. Readers whose memories of this cycle are not as vivid as they once were will be heartened to discover that they need not be unduly deterred: the mythological base of the poem is disguised and unobtrusive, in the same way that the Celtic legend lying behind Muldoon's last long poem, "Immram", was. The information is, nevertheless, helpful in approaching the slippery, oblique poems of *Quoof*, in that it summons the word "trickster" to mind.

These poems delight in a wily, mischievous, nonchalant negotiation between the affections and attachments of Muldoon's own childhood, family and place, and the ironic discriminations of a cool literary sensibility and historical awareness. This seems a bruisingly heavy-handed way of describing these deft, artfully effortless poems: but their wit does reside in some such dialect, and a large part of their effectiveness derives from the subtle balancing act that it implies. Muldoon's technical virtuosity — the breathtakingly off-the-cuff assonance of his many irregular sonnets, for instance, which give the impression of being like the work of the poet in *Thun of Athens*, things slipped idly from him — trickily consorts with what sometimes seems a alightness or jokiness or unclarity in his poems' occasions. The reader's delight is all in the trickery. These poems run rings around us, wrong-foot us and outwit us; they invite us, and entice us, to catch up with them.

You would have to be a masochist not to find the experience, occasionally, exasperating. I have read and re-read "Yggdrasil" to the point of memorizing it (which is not difficult, given its limpid, seductive cadences and assonances, its perfect music), and I have my ideas about how it build

images may be thought to maintain some vague congruity, but I have no confidence whatever that this would correspond with what anyone else might construct from the poem. Even here, however, the weird lack of declaration impresses not as costiveness, but as a fine, meticulously studied tact and decorum.

It is Muldoon's characteristic tone of voice which earns him such licence. His poems offer themselves to the reader as delicately as he offers the word "quoof", his childhood word for the hot water bottle, to "so many lovely heads", this one in particular:

An hotel room in New York City  
with a girl who spoke hardly any English,  
my hand on her breast  
like the smouldering, one-off spoor of the  
yet

or some other shy beast  
that has yet to enter the language.  
This is a superbly tender and graceful instance of the translation of the childish into the sophisticated; and its pangs are beautifully aided by the muted assonantal rhyming which Muldoon has perhaps derived from Irish forms, as Austin Clarke did before him. The sense of a voice tentatively and gingerly approaching us makes one feel that if there were an opposite to the word "buttonholing" it would describe the characteristic stance of a Muldoon poem.

The real trick of it, though, is that the poems' occasions only seem slight. Again and again, the shorter poems in *Quoof* imply more than they are ever willing to admit, as their images drift ambivalently towards emblem, parable and allegory. In Paul Muldoon, nothing is ever quite what it seems, and everything seems contaminated with the disease of touch means that you have to think hard to realize that the subject matter of his recent work involves, as often as not, violence and violent death.

Certainly nothing is ever quite what it seems in "The More a Man Has the More a Man Wants", and this twenty-five-page poem "eliminates" in an explosion in which someone is blown to pieces. The poem traces a further stage in Muldoon's interest in fictionalized narrative; but, whereas "Immram" seemed to me never to find a proper focus for its theme of quest, and never fully to realize the potential of its Chaudhresque ventriloquism, the new

poem is an extraordinarily sure-footed performance which refracts some of the present circumstances of the North through a bizarre narrative shimmering with a surrealist gloss. Its its heady juxtapositions and transitions, and its impossible linkages and episodes, it owes something to surrealist film and cartoon and, quite possibly, to polycylin, the hallucinogenic mushroom which crops up once or twice in *Quoof*. It is also reminiscent of some of Bob Dylan's long narrative songs — "Motorpsycho Nitemare" or the "115th Dream".

The poem's hero, Gallogly, is a man in disguise, a spy, an obdurate fifth columnist; and, eventually, a "gallowsman", the word for an Irish soldier which Spenser, in the *State of Ireland*, traced etymologically to a connection with English mercenaries. The allegory which this suggests is not so much pursued in the poem as discovered into an astonishing display of verbal dexterity and cunning. This is Gallogly seeing something on the horizon:

If it wasn't an Indian,  
A Sioux. An ugly Sioux.  
He means, of course, an Ojibwa  
Slouching through the family tree  
of an Ulsterman who had some light  
in the massacre at Wounded Knee.

We hardly have time to puzzle out the relationship — between "Gallogly", "ugly" and "Ojibwa" here, if there is one, before we're busily trying to imagine a hand in a wounded knee. A large part of the poem's technique is to bring unnervingly back to the mind cliché and idiom; and having a hand in a knee is not just a linguistic joke in a poem which imagines what happens to people when they are blown to pieces by bombs. This is someone after a death similar to Airey Neave's.

Once they collect his multitudes  
he doesn't quite add up  
They're shy of a foot, and a calf  
which stems from his left shoe like a severely  
pruned-back shrub.

Muldoon's trickery is in deadly earnest here. The fastidiousness of the description, the cool relish of simile, are actually a kind of desperation. The shy beast which enters the language in this book does so shy of a foot; their irony, reserved and undeclared, is a way of coping with emotions which could not altogether get out of hand.

## ECONOMIC HISTORY

ERIC R. WOLF

*Europe and the People without History*  
500pp. University of California  
Press. £25.50.  
0 520 04459 2

The celebrated discovery by Andersen's child that the Emperor wore no clothes implied another proposition: he should have been wearing some. But of what kind? It does not take more than a layman's common sense to observe, in the teeth of fashionable historiographical scepticism, that the social sciences and history itself need "a history that could account for the modern world came into being, and that would strive to make any sense of all societies, including our own". It takes a considerable effort by a sophisticated intellect, great lucidity of mind, not to mention a lot of reading and courage, to sketch the ways in which such a history could be constructed, taking the entire development of the globe since about 1400 as an illustration. Eric Wolf's new book sets out to do no less.

Wolf is unusually well qualified for this task. Unlike most Anglo-American anthropologists, he is known not so much for "his" tribe or region, as for his subject: people in agriculture. His book on *Peasants* (1966) is much the finest introduction there is to the subject, and he is known to a wider public for a study of the peasant element in the revolutions of our time, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. He has published not only on his own area of Spanish Central America, on states, plantations and peasants, but on the origins of Islam and the formation of nations. He is the co-author of *The Hidden Frontier* (1974), a superb history-anthropological study of two neighbouring but culturally different Tyrolean communities, which is essential reading for students of modern nationality.

Not surprisingly, he has long been associated with the first modern interdisciplinary journal of its kind, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.

The anthropological tradition against which Wolf rebels is that which treats human societies (ie, in practice the micro-populations which have been the subject of field-work and monographs) as self-contained, self-reproducing and ideally self-stabilizing systems. But, he argues, no tribe or community is or has ever been an island, and the world, a totality of interconnected processes or system, is not and never has been a sum of self-contained human groups and cultures.

What appears as unchanging and self-replicating is not only the result of coping with the constant, complex process of internal and external tensions, but is often the product of historical change. What happened to the Amazonian Mundurucú, who changed from patrilineal and patrilineal to the unusual combination of matrilineality and patrilineal reckoning, under the impact of the Brazilian rubber boom, had probably happened to many a "tribe" encountered by nineteenth-century ethnographers and regarded as a "primitive" prehistoric or a-historic survival, like some collective human coelacanth. There are no people without history or who can be understood without it. Their history, like ours, is incomprehensible outside its setting in a wider world (which has become coterminous with the inhabited globe) and, certainly, in the past half-millennium it cannot be understood except through the intersections of different types of social organization, each modified by interaction with the others.

This approach has the advantage for historians concerned to present history in global terms that it gives them a genuine justification for their endeavours, which are usually undertaken on no better grounds than those which lead shops to describe

**PETERSBURG**  
Andrei Bely  
Translated by Robert A. Maguire and John E. Mairstad  
The one novel that sums up the whole of Russia — Anthony Burgess  
00.6412 5 £3.95

**THE OUTSIDER**  
Albert Camus  
A new translation by Joseph Laredo  
"He catches perfectly the flatness and the sparkle of Camus. Joseph Laredo has made a masterpiece read like a masterpiece"  
— Spectator  
00.6158 4 £1.25

**THE MEMORY OF WAR AND CHILDREN IN EXILE**  
Poems 1948-1983  
James Penton  
The most talented poet of his generation — Peter Porter in the Observer  
"Bulletha from the front line of an extraordinary, inclusive imagination"  
— The Times Literary Supplement  
"Utterly arresting, alive from first to last with inventive wit" — New Statesman  
00.6812 0, £1.95

**PATERSON**  
William Carlos Williams  
The masterpiece of twentieth century literature is now available for the first time as a one-volume paperback.  
00.6416 0, £2.95

# The movement of capitalism

Eric Hobsbawm

Not surprisingly, he has long been associated with the first modern interdisciplinary journal of its kind, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.

The anthropological tradition against which Wolf rebels is that which treats human societies (ie, in practice the micro-populations which have been the subject of field-work and monographs) as self-contained, self-reproducing and ideally self-stabilizing systems. But, he argues, no tribe or community is or has ever been an island, and the world, a totality of interconnected processes or system, is not and never has been a sum of self-contained human groups and cultures.

What appears as unchanging and self-replicating is not only the result of coping with the constant, complex process of internal and external tensions, but is often the product of historical change. What happened to the Amazonian Mundurucú, who changed from patrilineal and patrilineal to the unusual combination of matrilineality and patrilineal reckoning, under the impact of the Brazilian rubber boom, had probably happened to many a "tribe" encountered by nineteenth-century ethnographers and regarded as a "primitive" prehistoric or a-historic survival, like some collective human coelacanth. There are no people without history or who can be understood without it. Their history, like ours, is incomprehensible outside its setting in a wider world (which has become coterminous with the inhabited globe) and, certainly, in the past half-millennium it cannot be understood except through the intersections of different types of social organization, each modified by interaction with the others.

This approach has the advantage for historians concerned to present history in global terms that it gives them a genuine justification for their endeavours, which are usually undertaken on no better grounds than those which lead shops to describe

their goods in Arabic or Japanese, or which reflect the image of contemporary politics (those of the doubly misdescribed "United Nations") and the contemporary, and evidently global, economy. It also reduces arguments for or against Eurocentrism to irrelevancy. That the forces which transformed the world since the fifteenth century were geographically European, is patent. How much space should be occupied in a textbook of modern world history by this or that non-European region is a relatively trivial question, except in the classrooms of the states of those regions, or for their cultural diplomats. The point is, that history consists of the interaction of various structured (and geographically distributed) social entities, which mutually reshape each other. Europe and non-Europe can no more be separated than Ibn Khaldun's Beduin and sedentaries: each is the other's history.

In fact, Wolf argues, the geographical form of interaction is merely a special aspect of a more general pattern. The history of the working classes in industrial society poses exactly the same problems as that of the impact of capitalism on notionally traditional societies "supposedly arrested on some timeless plateau of evolution". In fact, the two branches of history are but one. Or, in even more general terms, whether a society exports or imports capitalism, belongs to "core" or "periphery", it has developed and evolves out of a plurality of social orderings. In this sense macrocosm and microcosm in history are one.

How is this intermingling of orders to be analysed? The major merit of Wolf's book does not lie in his ability critically to synthesize the literature about the world since 1400, registered in forty-five pages of bibliography. Others can do as much, at the inevitable risk of exposure to the flanking fire of specialist snipers. It lies in the attempt to provide a way of

grasping the "strategic features of . . . (the) variability" in the "different social systems and cultural understandings" which European capitalism encountered in its expansion and consequently "the central processes at work in the interaction of Europeans with the majority of the world's population."

The test of a book such as this is therefore not whether we accept its actual reading of the historical record, or the authorities whose findings Wolf accepts, modifies or reinterprets. It would not be significantly less interesting if, say, the notion of "long waves" of capitalist development which he accepts, proved untenable, or if it turns out that his sources on the Mundurucú are mistaken. The question is rather whether his analytical approach is superior to others.

This is inevitably a question about a Marxian approach to history, since Wolf clearly gives a central place to two basically Marxian concepts: production as "the complex of mutually dependent relations among nature, social labor and social organization" and culture, or systems of ideas, seen as occurring "within the determinate compass of a mode of production deployed to render nature amenable to human use". "Mind" for him does not "follow an independent course of its own". For the purposes of his book the long-term evolution of humanity, or the possible sequence of social formations, are irrelevant and remain undiscussed, except for remarks incidental to his argument. He is not concerned with the famous "contradiction" between the developing material productive forces of society and the existing productive relationships, except in so far as structural tensions of this kind within any of the "modes of production" and those arising out of the interaction between various modes, may or may not bear on his problem. Marxian ideas are here employed primarily to explain the "global interactions of human

aggregates" in the past half-millennium, though they are evidently intended also to explain them for any other period.

Wolf's particular positions in the lively international Marxist debates about theory and history will not be of major concern to non-specialists, any more than his specific disagreements with various schools of anthropologists. The lengthy bibliographical notes, in which he discusses his sources and obligations, throw some light on these matters. One might merely note that his main interest lies not in causal connections but in variability and combination. Hence the central importance for his analysis of various "modes of production", ie, of the "social mobilisation, deployment and allocation of labor". For their value is precisely that the mode of production "used comparatively . . . calls attention to major variations in political-economic arrangements and allows us to visualise their effects" as well as to understand the "variable and shifting supports" of the development of global capitalism, which "were often embedded in different modes of production."

Three broad "modes" of his kind are directly relevant to his purpose, which, very sensibly, shows no interest in exhaustive classification and — one might add — is incompatible with course of its own. For the purposes of his book the long-term evolution of humanity, or the possible sequence of social formations, are irrelevant and remain undiscussed, except for remarks incidental to his argument. He is not concerned with the famous "contradiction" between the developing material productive forces of society and the existing productive relationships, except in so far as structural tensions of this kind within any of the "modes of production" and those arising out of the interaction between various modes, may or may not bear on his problem. Marxian ideas are here employed primarily to explain the "global interactions of human

**HELBEC OF BANNSDALE**  
Mrs Humphry Ward  
Edited and introduced by Brian Worthington  
First published in 1898, *Helbeck of Bannisdale* was rediscovered by Q.D. Leavis who compared it with *Villette* and *Middlemarch*. It is an important addition to the Penguin English Library.  
043.194 2 £2.95

**THE TRAVELS OF SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE**  
Translated by C.W.R.D. Moseley  
This is a new translation of the popular travel book of the Middle Ages which was used by Hakluyt and Dr Johnson as a serious work of geography. Much of the book's charm lies in its sceptical tone, often wildly imaginative descriptions and its subtle questioning of the standards and conventions of Europe at that time.  
044.435 1 £2.95

**SIX RECORDS OF A FLOATING LIFE**  
Shen Fu  
Translated by Leonard Pratt and Chiang Su-Hui  
Long popular in China as a remarkably frank and tragic account of a love affair, *Six Records of a Floating Life* also paints a gloriously vivid portrait of late eighteenth century China.  
044.429 7 £1.95

**THE DIARY OF VIRGINIA WOOLF**  
Volume IV: 1931-1935  
Edited by Anne Olivier Bell  
Three qualities of the great diarist — Popsy, Greville or Kipling — she certainly has. She is interested in everything she sets down, she writes for and talks to, each reader directly, she offers rich and inexhaustible companionship — Michael Katcliffe  
00.5285 2 £4.95

## A SELECTION OF AUTUMN TITLES FROM PENGUIN

**PETERSBURG**  
Andrei Bely  
Translated by Robert A. Maguire and John E. Mairstad  
The one novel that sums up the whole of Russia — Anthony Burgess  
00.6412 5 £3.95

**THE OUTSIDER**  
Albert Camus  
A new translation by Joseph Laredo  
"He catches perfectly the flatness and the sparkle of Camus. Joseph Laredo has made a masterpiece read like a masterpiece"  
— Spectator  
00.6158 4 £1.25

**THE MEMORY OF WAR AND CHILDREN IN EXILE**  
Poems 1948-1983  
James Penton  
The most talented poet of his generation — Peter Porter in the Observer  
"Bulletha from the front line of an extraordinary, inclusive imagination"  
— The Times Literary Supplement  
"Utterly arresting, alive from first to last with inventive wit" — New Statesman  
00.6812 0, £1.95

**PATERSON**  
William Carlos Williams  
The masterpiece of twentieth century literature is now available for the first time as a one-volume paperback.  
00.6416 0, £2.95

**THE MERSEY SOUND**  
To coincide with the publication of *New Volume* there is a new edition of *The Mersey Sound*, the poets' best-seller collection.  
042.318 4 £1.50

**SELECTED POEMS**  
William Carlos Williams  
Edited and introduced by Charles Trollinson  
To coincide with the publication of *Pateron* this selection of Williams' finest poems has been reissued.  
042.190 4 £2.95

**THE PENGUIN BOOK OF EVERYDAY VERSE**  
Social and Documentary Poetry  
1250-1916  
Edited by David Wright  
"Verses about work and weddings and hangings and clothes and food and drink and festivals and fashions of all kinds. David Wright has compiled an extraordinary anthology"  
— The Times  
041.244 7 £4.95

**NEW VOLUME**  
Adrian Henri, Roger McGough and Brian Patten  
This is the poets' first collection for sixteen years. It is as direct, provocative and humorous as its predecessors.  
042.319 2 £1.50

**THE MERSEY SOUND**  
To coincide with the publication of *New Volume* there is a new edition of *The Mersey Sound*, the poets' best-seller collection.  
042.318 4 £1.50

penguin  
academic

for the book



which tribute is extracted from producers by political and military means, ranging from systems of highly concentrated to those of extremely diffused power, and varying in the ways in which tribute is collected, circulated and distributed. The "feudalism" and "Asiatic mode of production" of classic Marxist debate are regarded as among the possible variants of a mode in which surpluses are essentially extracted non-economically. The larger fields constituted by the political and commercial interaction of tributary societies, Wolf holds, have their counterpart in "civilisations" or zones of ideology with a prevalent model of the cosmic order, which tends to pivot on a hegemonic tributary society central to each zone.

The historical dynamics of such societies were, at least in the old world, closely bound up with the ebb and flow of pastoral-nomadic populations—acutely analysed—but also "with the widening and narrowing of surplus transfer through overland trade". For, with rather rare exceptions (eg. where all the surplus is consumed *in situ* or, as perhaps among the Incas, where commerce is virtually absent), the distribution of the surplus normally depends partly on buying and selling, and special groups engaged in these activities. This and the mercantile activity integral to the tributary mode requires control, if the commercialization of the goods and services on which tributary power rests is not to risk "reshuffling social priorities" away from political or military rulers. In certain circumstances, as within medieval Europe and later, when Western merchants, backed by independent power, impinged on non-European societies, such control becomes difficult. Yet, against Weber and "world-market" Marxists like Frank and Wallerstein, Wolf insists on the basic symbiosis of trade and pre-capitalist modes. Capitalism becomes dominant only with industrialization. So long as production was dominated by tribute or kin, mercantile activity does not automatically lead to capitalism, though it might tend in this direction by making direct producers dependent on the market, by extending slavery. In Wolf's view, "slave labor has never constituted a major independent mode of production, but it has played a subsidiary role in providing labor under all modes", notably, for capitalism, during its expansion overseas.

Kinship, in the "kin-ordered mode", is seen neither as essentially a device

for the social regulation of biological descent, nor as a system of symbolical constructs (though it is obviously both also), but as a way of ordering social labour and access to it. The ways of establishing such rights and claims vary widely, but are clearly simpler where resources are widely distributed and available to any able-bodied person (as in food-collecting "bands") than where they are restricted, as is the case when nature is transformed by plant or animal cultivation. This second situation implies not only a rather more complex social division of labour, but a transgenerational corpus of claims and counterclaims to social labour through real or fictitious pedigrees, and the elements of an unequal politico-social order which threatens to burst the bounds of kinship. It can be contained so long as there is no other mechanism for aggregating or mobilizing labour apart from the particular relations set up by kinship, ie. so long as alliances and oppositions are not between *classes* of people and the potential rulers cannot call upon outside resources. It would seem that the kin-ordered mode turns into class society, and with it into societies possessing states, either by the transformation of "chiefly" lineages into a ruling class, especially when such aristocracies "bud off to conquer and rule foreign populations", or when kin-ordered groups enter into relations with tributary or capitalist societies, which may offer chiefs external resources and hence "a possible following outside of kinship and unencumbered by it". Hence, Wolf argues, the notorious readiness of chiefs to collaborate with European slave-hunters and fur-traders.

Neither "Europe" nor the "people without history" in their various versions of pre-capitalist modes would have developed in quite the way each did without the others. Yet if the relationship is two-sided, it is also plainly asymmetrical. Wolf has little except nuances to add to the large literature on European expansion and its significance for the development of capitalism. What will be unfamiliar to most readers, especially those brought up on conventional history, is his treatment of the non-European world, which he surveys in a way that is both recommended, it is not only an excellent introduction for the layman—not least for its sense of human geography—but an illuminating and critical analysis, not without original interpretations especially on India, of the strength and weakness of pastoral nomad societies, Indian caste

structure, East and Southeast Asia, as well as, at understandingly greater length, pre-Columbian America. Much of what Wolf says about the transformation of society under the impact of European trade and conquest will be new to anyone who has not followed the striking recent advances in ethnohistory and the history of Africa and Indo-America. Virtually all of it is exciting. The sheer historical novelty of apparently "primitive" cultural configurations such as those of the Plains Indians (adopted "in the course of a few brief years" by pedestrian hunter-gatherers and pastoralists making use of the Euro-imported horse and gun); the effect of the European fur trade on the economy, politics and culture of Huron, Iroquois and Cree; and the different effects of the Russian fur trade in Asia and America: these will open quite novel perspectives for most of us. Wolf's own expertise on Latin America naturally stands him in good stead. His anthropological colleagues will no doubt soon show whether they accept his "historisations" of some of the peoples who were the subject of several of the more celebrated monographs in the literature of their subject.

The major strength of Wolf's book—

his concentration on interaction, intermingling and mutual modification—is at the same time its major weakness, since it tends to take for granted the nature of the dynamism which has brought the world from pre-history to the late twentieth century. This is a book about connections rather than causes. Or rather, the author has re-thought the problems of the genesis and development of capitalism less fundamentally than those of the interconnections essential to it. No doubt this is a task more suited to historians than anthropologists. His account of capitalist development is a useful contribution to a debate, not by any means confined to Marxists, which has recently regained much vigour, and is valuable chiefly for clearly pointing to questions which are usually unrecognized, such as why the work-force of capitalism should have developed as "free labour" and not in some other form. Wolf's most interesting contribution to the debate lies closest to his major concern. It is his insistence on the continuous "processes by which new working classes are simultaneously created and segmented", as the labour force is recruited "from a wide variety of social and cultural backgrounds" (inserted)... into variable political and economic hierarchies. Today,

"within an ever more integrated world, we witness the growth of ever more diverse proletarian diaspora". This, the final sentence of a very impressive book, forms a characteristically suggestive and open-ended conclusion to it.

*Europe and the People without History* is the work of a powerful theoretical intelligence, but one formed by a lived sense of social realities. Behind Wolf's analysis, notable gift for concise and lucid exposition, there lies a personal and intellectual trajectory which has taken the author from Vienna and the World Bohemian working-class communities devastated by the Great Slump, to the United States and the plantations and peasants of the Third World. Like all good anthropologists he is a "participant observer"—in this case of the world history which is his subject. This book could only have been written by a "son of the shaking earth", to quote the title of one of Wolf's own works. It is an important book, which will be widely discussed. The centenary year of Marx's death is not over yet, but it may be doubted whether a more original work exemplifying the living influence of that great thinker will have been published in the course of it.

## Patterns of presentments

Paul Slack

J. A. SHARPE  
*Crime in seventeenth-century England: A county study*  
289pp. Cambridge University Press.  
£25.  
0 521 25074 9

Two mighty historical growth-industries lie behind J. A. Sharpe's searching and scholarly book. The questions which it poses and ponders arise from the newer of them: the history of crime, which has given birth in recent years to symposia, special issues of journals, regular international conferences, and heated interdisciplinary and multilingual debates about concepts, procedures and sources. Dr Sharpe has been an energetic participant in all this activity, and his monograph comes with impressive credentials. It is published both by Cambridge University Press as *Past and Present* Publication and by the Maison de Sciences de l'Homme in Paris as the first in a series of volumes on the history of crime and criminal justice.

The scholarship, however, has its roots in a second, older and native industry: the history of local communities in early modern England, and of one county in particular. Voluminous records and an unusually hospitable Record Office have made Essex the best-known corner of Stuart England. Can there be any historian of the period who has not heard of its Parliamentary magnates and Puritan village elders, its parsons and witches, of Earls Colne and Tarring? Now we have its criminals, or rather some of them: the men and women indicted or presented before Quarter Sessions, Assizes and King's Bench between 1620 and 1680. Sharpe takes the records of these courts and subjects them to rigorous criticism and quantitative analysis.

He tabulates the various kinds of offences, starting with petty disorders and nuisance, and moving through sexual offences and not to theft, assault and murder. He describes the incidence of each crime both in relation to others and over time. We are told how many offenders were punished and by what means. He uses other local sources to show relationships between criminals and victims, and between crime and the precise local social and economic context. This is not a book for those who want general hypotheses about social control, criminal sub-cultures or law as a mediator of class relations: therefore, its conspicuous features are its healthy scepticism about the broad assertions hazarded by early pioneers in the field, and its sensitivity to problems of evidence. It is firmly rooted in place, in time, and above all in the documents.

Such caution is dictated by the two major difficulties which dominate the book, as they do all serious accounts of

crime in the past. The first is the perplexing "dark figure", the amount of criminality which was not presented in court. Sharpe discusses the origins of indictments and presentments and shows how they were often a last resort, after other means of resolving conflict had failed. Related to this is the second difficulty: the extent to which the records reflect, not actual criminal behaviour, but the changing sensitivities and ambitions of those who shaped the legal machine, from legislators and judges down to constables. Here again we are shown the flexibility of the system of criminal justice, its responsiveness to changing circumstances and anxieties, and the urgent need for historical research into public opinion about crime and punishment before we can fully understand it.

Where firm assertions are possible, they sometimes underlie conclusions reached earlier. In Joel Samaha's study of Elizabethan Essex, for example, and in J. S. Cockburn's more substantial and perceptive investigations into the Home Circuit Assize files. The level of crime, and particularly of crimes against poverty, fluctuated with economic conditions. It was particularly high in the depressed 1620s; and the correlation between theft and grain prices weakened after the mid-seventeenth century as economic conditions improved. It was a more violent society than our own, with homicide running at about three times its modern rate, infanticide common, and people in all ranks of society readily indulging in personal assault. There are no surprises there. By extending his work into the later seventeenth century, and by scrupulously setting the indictments in their local context, however, Sharpe is able to show facets of the subject which could not so easily have been predicted in advance.

On the question of violence, for example, it has long been realized that offences against property were far more numerous than those of assault and murder. The argument that early modern period saw transition from "violence-dominated" to "property-dominated" crime holds no water, as far as England is concerned. Yet it would be equally false to argue that there was little important change at all from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. In Essex between 1620 and 1680 there appears to have been a decline both in homicide and, more remarkably, in property offences: perhaps a result of economic improvement and perhaps a symptom of increasing social stability. Sharpe also questions the common assumption that forest and woodland areas were more disorderly than other farming regions. There was no such correlation in Essex. Neither was crime particularly heavy in the neighbourhood of London, although it was associated with the presence of a rural textile industry elsewhere in the county.

Still more arresting are Sharpe's findings on the impact—or more accurately the lack of impact—of the Interregnum. The Puritan drive for Reformation of Manners did not produce a great wave of presentments against moral offenders in the 1650s and 1660s. As many unlicensed alehouses were detected in the early 1620s as in the early 1660s, and prosecutions for drink offences were more numerous in the early 1670s than they had been twenty years before. The 1670s turn out to be especially intriguing, since they also saw a large rise in the number of indictments against people refusing to work. What specifically Puritan aspirations seem to have affected patterns of recorded crime throughout the period, the imposition of labour discipline was a special concern at the end.

When all qualifications have been made, therefore, we are left with indications of important changes in the course of the seventeenth century, both in crime and in the attitudes of those enforcing the law. It looks as if violence and theft declined, the number of executions certainly fell. Anxieties about vagrancy waned, replaced by new efforts to control the behaviour of the resident poor. Society, one must not conclude, became more orderly than not put words into the author's mouth. Dr Sharpe insists that we need studies of other counties or other courts (particularly manorial and ecclesiastical), and of the period immediately after 1680, before we can venture sweeping conclusions. His purpose here is to persuade historians of crime and of the seventeenth century to question their assumptions and look more closely at their sources, and he succeeds splendidly.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL FAIR OF CONTEMPORARY ART PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS  
POSTERS  
CATALOGUES  
MAGAZINES  
AUTHORS  
ARTISTS  
SEMINARS  
CHILDREN'S  
EVENTS

RALPH  
STEADMAN  
Sat. 2.30  
sponsored by

ARTK83

28, 29, 30, October

ICA

THE MALL SW1 1 930 3647

### DRAMA

GRAHAM STOREY (General Editor)  
The Plays of Renaissance and Restoration Dramatists  
Cambridge University Press

DAVID L. FROST (Editor)  
The Selected Plays of Thomas Middleton  
415pp. £23.50 (paperback, £6.95).  
0 521 21698 2

COLIN GIBSON (Editor)  
The Selected Plays of Philip Massinger  
387pp. £21 (paperback, £12.50).  
0 521 21728 8

GEORGE PARFITT (Editor)  
The Plays of Cyril Tourneur  
196pp. £15 (paperback, £4.50).  
0 521 24654 4

MICHAEL CORDNER (Editor)  
The Plays of Sir George Etherege  
411pp. £21 (paperback, £7.50).  
0 521 24654 4

ANTHONY G. HENDERSON (Editor)  
The Comedies of William Congreve  
407pp. £21 (paperback, £7.50).  
0 521 24747 0

PETER HOLLAND (Editor)  
The Plays of William Wycherley  
422pp. £25 (paperback, £7.50).  
0 521 23250 3

It is nearly a hundred years since Havelock Ellis conceived of a project demanding "courage, scholarship, and enthusiasm": the founding of a series of popular and inexpensive editions of "The Best Plays" of the Old Dramatists. "Courage" was needed because the Mermaid series, as it came to be called, was to present unadorned texts of certain dramatists whom Ellis regarded as daring, not to say revolutionary, social thinkers: the prospect of intellectual storm-trooping was (as ever for Ellis) particularly appealing. The obvious publisher for such a series was Henry Vizetelly, who had established his credentials by publishing English translations of Flaubert, Maupassant, French authors. Ellis's own "expurgated edition" of the plays of Christopher Marlowe was to be the first title in the new series. It carried an introductory essay by J. A. Symonds declaring that Elizabethan drama showed "the freedom of a great race conscious of their adolescent vigour", and (at Ellis's insistence) an appendix containing the notorious Baines note, testifying to Marlowe's religious and sexual unorthodoxities. Both Symonds and Vizetelly privately wondered if this last touch did not stretch the limits of freedom and adolescent vigour too far. In the end Vizetelly deleted certain words and phrases from the Baines note, prudently replacing them by dots. Vizetelly's general caution was justified: before long he was to be prosecuted and jailed for publishing translations of Zola, and to retire discreetly from business. The Mermaid series, however, was by now a going concern. It passed to other publishers, and proceeded in its remarkable way (characterized at times by enthusiasm rather than scholarship; no matter) to introduce several generations of readers to the dramatic literature of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England.

By the 1920s, other and more lavish editions of the English dramatists were of their way. In London, while the Phoenix Society indefatigably re-edited "the adequate presentation of the plays of the older dramatists", Restoration drama—its reasons that would doubt reward sociological scrutiny—entered a period of special favour. Brett-Smith's still-unsurpassed *Restoration Drama* was as do the *Mermaid* series, but more lavishly illustrated. The *Mermaid* series, however, was by now a going concern. It passed to other publishers, and proceeded in its remarkable way (characterized at times by enthusiasm rather than scholarship; no matter) to introduce several generations of readers to the dramatic literature of sixteenth and seventeenth-century England.

Yet neither the New Mermaid nor any of their rivals have entirely usurped the place of the original *Mermaid*, which is provided at reasonable cost not single texts but generous collections of the best work of particular dramatists from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Queen Anne.

edited Congreve, Wycherley, Otway and Dryden for the Nonesuch series and Shadwell for the Fortune Press, in a grand total of twenty-two volumes. By the mid-1930s he was busy with Southern, Ravenscroft and Settle, and eagerly surveying the tasks that lay ahead.

But how much remains to be done! Nat Lee, I am glad to say, is safe in the hands of my friend Miss Maclean. Crowne, D'Urfey, Banks, Mountford, Sir Robert Howard, Davenant (here is a fine field), Colley Cibber, George Powell, Wilson, the ladies, Mrs Manley, the philosophical Mrs

The original Mermaids cost half-a-crown each, and contained on average five plays per volume: sixpence a play. Swinburne's and Ellis's two-volume Middletons gave you ten plays, including several which have not been edited in recent years. The recent Cambridge University Press series, Plays by Renaissance and Restoration Dramatists, does not (alas) offer a bargain of quite that kind, nor does it carry the air of excitement that the sexologist imparted to the Mermaids, or the chronicler of witcraft to the Nonesuch dramatists. Yet it aims to fill a gap that the first (at least) of those earlier editions once occupied, and in

its respect deserves a welcome. The first titles in the series appeared in 1978: David L. Frost's *Middleton*; Colin Gibson's *Massinger*, and George Parfitt's volume surprisingly entitled *The Plays of Cyril Tourneur*, which contains *The Atheist's Tragedy* and *The Reveller's Tragedy*; the latter play, as Frost's succinctly remarks, being "sometimes erroneously assigned to Tourneur". With the latest batch of titles, the series moves forward into the Restoration period, and it is possible to take considered stock of its quality and achievement.

The first six volumes in the series differ markedly from the general editorial style, the general editor, Graham Storey, having evidently been content for each editor to work out certain problems in his own manner. Common to all volumes is a brief introduction summarizing the life, canon and critical reputation of each author, noting the principal editorial problems and procedures, and listing further reading. Each play within each volume is in turn preceded by a brief introductory note detailing particular sources, textual problems and stage histories. (The stage histories are, at times, haphazard: Henderson's Congreve, for example, fails to record major London productions of recent years such as the Royal Court's *The Double Dealer* of the late 1960s and the Royal Shakespeare Company's *The Way of the World* of a decade later.) Explanatory notes are at the foot of the page. These vary somewhat in style and relative density: proverbial lore is methodically noted by some editors and not by others; double entendres are pursued by some and (perhaps more restfully) not by others; one editor (repeatedly) notes a "system" for denoting double meanings of which a speaker is presumed to be aware or (alternatively) unaware, but the system is not followed by other editors. Additional explanatory and textual notes are to be found in appendices at the back of some, but not all, volumes. Over textual matters in general, various editors have taken varying pains. David Frost, for example, the most meticulous editor in the series, thus far provides twenty pages of

Why the editor of a supposedly modernized text should indulge a weakness for certain typographical archaisms and express impatience with others is not made clear. The text that emerges is a curiosity. Here, for example, is a moment from the second act of *Love for Love*: Miss Prue is delightedly describing the delicious perfume worn by Mr Tattle. This is how Herbert Davis prints the exchange in his 1967 University of Chicago edition:

Miss Prue. —Smell him Mother—  
Madam, I mean—He gave me this  
Ring for a kiss.  
Tattle. O the Miss, you must not kiss  
and tell.  
Miss Prue. Yes, I may tell my  
Mother—And he says he'll give  
me something to make me smell  
so. Oh, pray lend me your  
Handkerchief—Smell, Cousin; he  
says he'll give me something that

# Never say Smock

Ian Donaldson

close-argued textual notes at the end of his Middleton, while Anthony Henderson, at the other extreme, gives no very adequate idea of the complex editorial problems posed by Congreve's texts, little sense of fresh textual endeavour, and no additional textual notes. His edition also contains a crop of typographical errors. Texts are modernized according to principles which differ from editor to editor. Frost is occasionally conservative in modernizing Middleton's spelling, aiming to preserve older forms where these appear to convey a significantly different value; his punctuation, so it seems, is unconstrainedly modern.

will make my Smocks smell this way—Is it not pure?—It's better than Lavender munn—I'm resolv'd I won't let Nurse put any more Lavender among my Smocks—ha, Cousin?  
Mrs Frail Fie, Miss; amongst your Linnen, you must say—You must never say Smock.

Now here is Henderson:  
Miss Prue. —Smell him Mother—  
Madam, I mean. He gave me this Ring for a kiss.  
Tattle. O the Miss, you must not kiss and tell.  
Miss Prue. Yes; I may tell my Mother—And he says he'll give me something to make me smell so. Oh, pray lend me your Handkerchief—Smell, Cousin; he says he'll give me something that will make my Smocks smell this way. Is it not pure?—It's better than Lavender, munn. I'm resolv'd I won't let Nurse put any more Lavender among my Smocks—ha, Cousin?  
Mrs Frail Fie, Miss; amongst your Linnen, you must say. You must never say Smock.

The quarto punctuation as shown in Davis's text is not devised specially to reveal the qualities of Miss Prue's speech and mind—the punctuation is like this most of the time—but at such a moment its freedom perfectly conveys the headlong, random progress of Miss Prue's new-found enthusiasms. Under Henderson's stronger pointing this freedom is checked, and Miss Prue's punctuation is broken, while its random quaintnesses are preserved.

A series of this kind, aiming to offer (as a rule) four plays per volume at a price not wholly beyond the hopes of student buyers, places certain obvious constraints upon its editors. The annotation of these editions is often necessarily sparser than one would ideally like. For detailed commentary, music to songs, full textual apparatus, and much else besides, the reader is frequently referred to other editions: sometimes to editions established in the more apocryphal days of the 1920s and 30s. The aim of the Cambridge series is comparatively modest: to provide decent, serviceable, middle-weight editions for a general academic market. In meeting this aim the editors are, by and large, successful. Peter Holland, for example, the author of an original and challenging book on Restoration drama, has in his sound, alert, up-to-date edition of a William Wycherley yet (as he would perhaps be the first to admit) is not an edition that in any way supersedes the editions of Arthur Friedman or Gerald Weales. Other editors are in a sense more fortunate, in having less in the way of recent competition: Michael Cordner's *Etherege* is especially welcome in providing the first collection of the plays since Brett-Smith's in 1927.

No one will be jailed or (one hopes) ruined by this enterprise, which, like the original Mermaids, gives enlarged currency to the best plays of the old dramatists. Whether the new series will have the impact or the staying-power of that earlier series, however, is quite another question.

*Theatre in the Age of Irving* by George Rowell (189pp. Basil Blackwell, £4.95, 0 351 10711 3), first published in 1981 as part of the Drama and Theatre studies series, is now in paperback for the first time. The author combines a concise biography of Henry Irving with an account of the stage tradition which he inherited and developed. His claims on behalf of Irving are uncompromising: chapter one begins, "(Rare) is the actor who in a single night makes himself not merely famous but foremost in his profession. In the annals of the English theatre three names stand unchallenged for such an achievement: David Garrick as Richard III; Edmund Kean as Shylock; and Henry Irving as Mathias in *The Bells*." There are sections devoted to the plays of W. S. Gilbert and the development of the D'Oyly Carte, the rise of the actor-manager, and the fortunes of melodrama, and also seventeen black-and-white illustrations, many of them depicting scenes from the Victorian stage.

Why the editor of a supposedly modernized text should indulge a weakness for certain typographical archaisms and express impatience with others is not made clear. The text that emerges is a curiosity. Here, for example, is a moment from the second act of *Love for Love*: Miss Prue is delightedly describing the delicious perfume worn by Mr Tattle. This is how Herbert Davis prints the exchange in his 1967 University of Chicago edition:

Miss Prue. —Smell him Mother—  
Madam, I mean—He gave me this  
Ring for a kiss.  
Tattle. O the Miss, you must not kiss  
and tell.  
Miss Prue. Yes, I may tell my  
Mother—And he says he'll give  
me something to make me smell  
so. Oh, pray lend me your  
Handkerchief—Smell, Cousin; he  
says he'll give me something that



A drawing by Hogarth of a scene from Congreve's play *The Old Bachelor*.

Trotter, and the fat Mrs Pix, all need attention.

Summers's whole zest, entirely untouched by critical (or for that matter commercial) considerations, retains a curious quality of hardened innocence: to understand L. C. Knights' tart and equally wholesale dismissal of Restoration comedy in 1937 as "trivial, gross and dull", one needs to remember what he was up against. Needless to say, Summers's grander editorial vision remains unfulfilled. Definitive editions of the works of the philosophical Mrs Trotter and the fat Mrs Pix are still (so to speak) awaited, while several of Summers's own confidently announced projects, along with the promised third volume of Brett-Smith's *Etherege*, have failed to see the light of day.

Over the past twenty-five years, the editing of Restoration and pre-Restoration drama has proceeded on quite different lines. Issuing at high prices and infrequent intervals from the university press are those magisterial editions with full textual and scholarly apparatus, destined for the library shelves: Arthur Friedman's 1979 Oxford edition of Wycherley (say) is an admirable example of this kind. Occupying another and busier place in the market are the well-series which aim to preserve annotated editions of single plays often at a price within the means of an individual purchaser. The Revels series, for example, which began life in the late 1950s and the New Mermaids in the mid-1960s. Despite variations in editorial quality and a regrettable overlap in the titles selected for editorial treatment, these series continue to fulfil a useful function.

Yet neither the New Mermaid nor any of their rivals have entirely usurped the place of the original *Mermaid*, which is provided at reasonable cost not single texts but generous collections of the best work of particular dramatists from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Queen Anne.

500 11 10 15 20











# Behind the lines

Robert Hewison

At its monthly meeting last week the Arts Council contemplated asking the government for less money. The Arts Council generally wants more money, but it could do without embarrassing extra responsibilities. The system of arts funding in Britain faces a major disaster if the plans for the abolition of the Greater London Council and the six Metropolitan County Councils are carried through.

*Streamlining the Cities* (31pp. HMSO. £3.60. 010 190630 7), the White Paper outlining the government's plans, says little about the arts, the two and a bit pages of a "consultative document" put out by the Ministry of Arts and Libraries do not say much more. Certain major institutions supported by the threatened authorities – such as the Liverpool Philharmonic, the Royal Exchange Theatre in Manchester, the Halle Orchestra and the National Theatre – would be handed over entirely to the Arts Council which would be given extra money for the purpose. Five museums would become the responsibility of the trustees of the British Museum, the V & A and the Tate. But the rest, over a thousand arts organizations great and small, must look to the borough and district councils.

The Arts Council had very sensibly already prepared a "position paper" before the government's plans were announced. It shows that the Metropolitan County Councils contribute over £2.5 million, and the GLC £4 million to the organizations which the Arts Council also supports. It would be unsafe to forecast a £5.5 million increase in the Arts Council's budget. The document also points out that the local reorganization of 1974, which it is now intended to undo, has actually improved the funding of the arts. Successes... have far exceeded what we were able to achieve with individual County Borough authorities.

document also points out, it is not quite a question of money. The Arts Council favours a plurality of funding sources, and welcomes sharing responsibilities. It is much better for the organizations concerned, and, one might add, it is much more in accord with the ideology of a free market economy.

While I understand that institutions like the Tate Gallery, which will have to administer the Walker Art Gallery, were not consulted about their new duties, the greatest fear must be for the middle-rank and smaller groups not elevated to national status. As a local government official in Sheffield remarked, "it's real back of an envelope

stuff". In London the GLC spends £2.5 million on "national" enterprises – and a further £4 million on smaller fry. As Lord Grimond, Valerie Eliot and Arthur Zelig settle themselves in the front row, I experience a frisson of the *Alibi* phenomenon. Behind us are massed ranks of students, decent people in Marks and Spencers, who have not heard trendy Tynes jokes before.

Some of the theatres funded by the GLC, like the Royal Court, the Theatre Royal at Stratford East, the ICA, the Hampstead Theatre Club, and the Churchill Theatre, Bromley, which are hardly small fry, seem to be seriously threatened. It is unlikely that their local boroughs will want, even if they were able, to pick up the bill. The Riverside Studios, with its theatre, art gallery and bookshop, had to be rescued by the GLC precisely because its local borough refused to fund it. Some boroughs, like Camden, which spends £900,000 on the arts, could hardly be expected to pay more; others, like Hackney (£362,500) are too poor to afford more, while the government's plans for "rate-capping" will prevent the boroughs from finding the money anyway. Westminster, whose only specific arts expenditure is a grant of £22,350 to the Westminster Arts Council, has a policy of not funding the many arts institutions in its territory because they are national assets.

Organizations which wish to make their feelings clear to the Minister for the Arts have until January 31, 1984 to do so. The Arts Council, which is certainly concerned about the implications of the White Paper, says that it will prepare its "considered response" by the end of the year. It hopes to know the level of next year's grant in December and may not wish to rock the boat. Huffing and puffing from the Arts Council will be as nothing to the hurricane the government's proposals will unleash.

Hot off Concorde, the high priest of the new journalism makes a pilgrimage to Canterbury to deliver this year's T. S. Eliot Memorial Lectures. New Tom says his respects to Old Tom, you might say, as the white-suited author of *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby*, *The Painted Word*, *From Bauhaus to Our House*, etc., kicks off with "The Natural History of the Contemporary Artist".

Tom Wolfe is quite a catch, and the acolytes of style, hot off British Rail, are thundering behind him: Faber and Faber (the founding fathers), *Harpers and Queen*, the Royal College of Art and

the Boilerhouse Project give the University of Kent at Canterbury a glimpse of the metropolitan cultural life. As Lord Grimond, Valerie Eliot and Arthur Zelig settle themselves in the front row, I experience a frisson of the *Alibi* phenomenon. Behind us are massed ranks of students, decent people in Marks and Spencers, who have not heard trendy Tynes jokes before.

Wolfe, in Ruskin-blue tie and Aubrey Beardsley high collar, quietly announces that his four lectures will fill a very large gap in the history of contemporary art. Bold, Mr Wolfe, but what need for modesty from the art historian who flies Concorde? And how will your slim volumes, those razor-sharp shafts of illuminatory wit, fill the gap? With a description of the life-style of the 100,000 registered artists clustered in the lofts and rookeries of New York's SoHo, a modern Montparnasse. *Selon Wolfe* it is not history, or Modernism, or any other "trend that walks like a man" that determines the twists and turns of Art. It is the artists, and the lives they choose for themselves.

Standing there at the microphone, issuing *sotto voce* aphorisms like an upmarket American comedian, Tom Wolfe evokes the crummy contingencies and voluntary deprivations of the SoHo community. He reads the labels on artists' clothing with the discriminatory passion of an Ian Fleming. He describes a revolting exhibition, "The Times Square Show" to illustrate his argument that the concern of the artist is not art, but the strategies of art. A *Readers Digest* condensed cultural history demonstrates that the artist clings to his dimly remembered status as the bearer of art's divinity, aristocratic and semi-divine. Since the end of the nineteenth century that status can only be conferred upon artists by themselves, so we have seen an ever-quickening dialectic of art-manoeuvres as each movement seeks to prove itself less "bourgeois" than the last. The stencilled slogans on the pavement of the Times Square Show, the stuffed maggots and rats on leads are the latest attempt by artists "to create a context for themselves". The Times Square Show has been featured in all the art-market magazines, so the implications are that this strategy has succeeded.

Wolfe has also created his own context: aristocrat, satirist, sartorialist, semi-divine; we scurry to Canterbury to bathe in his charms and to touch his four-button cuff with our lips. But has his argument any clothes? Flashes of wit and rhapsodies of assonant observation

do not substitute for the steady light of scholarship or the cool prose of fact. But here we are, in Canterbury, and we are listening, and he is talking. And after all, to quote Mr Wolfe, "why shouldn't he?"

\*\*\*

We will have to wait until November 7 for a plume of white smoke to rise above Bedford Square, announcing that Sir Peter Parker, Dr Richard Hoggart and Elizabeth Jane Howard have finally decided which are the Best Novels Of Our Time. (That is to say, the best twelve written in the English language and published since 1945.)

The selectors' deliberations are so secret that even the staff of the Book Marketing Council, which is promoting the promotion, do not know which titles are on the short list of thirty. The selectors have the entire corpus of English-language literature to choose from, but their memories have been jogged by submissions from publishers who are particularly eager to participate. While it would be possible to make an intelligent guess at the final twelve, the 219 suggestions – the secret list just happens to have leaked out – helps put titles to names.

Not that there are 219 novelists or 219 novels. Sometimes the same author has been entered by rival publishers (Anthony Burgess, L. P. Hartley) or for safety's sake has had whole series entered (C. P. Snow, Anthony Powell, Oliver Manning). The selectors will be saying something about themselves if they choose Colleen McCullough's *The Thorn Birds*, Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying* or Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, though Len Deighton or John Le Carré might get in. I was not aware that *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was written in the English language, but Granada seem to think it was.

The real battle will be between the British and the Americans: is the Great American Novel merely the Long American Novel? We can expect Norman Mailer (*The Naked and the Dead*, *The Executioner's Song*), J. D. Salinger (*The Catcher in the Rye*), Joseph Heller (*Catch 22*) and possibly Thomas Pynchon (*Gravity's Rainbow*), Saul Bellow (Penguin only entered *Herzog*), E. L. Doctorow (*Ragtime*), and Kurt Vonnegut. John Calder has entered William Burroughs's *The Naked Lunch* as an outsider.

On both sides of the Atlantic the battle will be between the living and the dead. Evelyn Waugh, Elizabeth Bowen, Aldous Huxley, H. E. Bates, Joyce Cary with Angus Wilson.

Lawrence Durrell, Graham Greene, Doris Lessing and Iris Murdoch. For of the living will be forty again, and too many dead authors will be entered in the press and television campaign is supposed to inspire voters difficult to arrange. I understand that, unlike Arts Council judges, the three selectors are prepared to defend their final choice in public, which will call for some intellectual agility when dealing with the disappointed. My one outsider for the lucky twelve is Malcolm Lowry's *The Under the Volcano*.

\*\*\*

Two authors almost certain of apostolic selection will hardly need the extra efforts of the Book Marketing Council in 1984: George Orwell and William Golding. As it happens, Desmond Clarke is exchanging his Directorship of the BMC for the post of Marketing Director of Faber and Faber. The judges of the Nobel Prize (not a BMC promotion) have treated him with a sales campaign on a par with When Golding's prize was announced. Faber confirmed that the manuscript of his new novel was in their hands "but would appear probably in about a year's time". The stiff whiff of traditional publishing practice is already beginning to turn faster, for the new Golding is now announced in February 6. Desmond Clarke's word on the *Best Novels Of Our Time* promotion, which will run from 2 February to 10 March: "with this we can sell a million".

The first Birmingham Festival of Readers and Writers will be held at Midlands Arts Centre, Cannon Hill Park, Birmingham, from Monday November 7 to Sunday November 13. Planned events include poetry readings by the Liverpool Poets, the Barrow Poets, Gavin Ewart, Adrian Mitchell and Edward Lowbury. There will be lectures by Michael Holroyd on George Bernard Shaw's biography and Jack Higgins on writing a bestseller, a discussion of Arts Council policies with Lord Goreau, a symposium on "Writing Women" and an evening celebrating the work of Sylvia Plath.

The Festival is sponsoring a short story competition for local writers, with weekend workshops for writers, and there will be related exhibitions, including *British Book Design and Production From Cruikshank to Pinter* at the Cotton Gallery and Fay Godwin's photographic portraits of writers at the Foyer Gallery.

## Author, Author

FLORA ADCKE'S *Selected Poems* were published earlier this year.

KATERINA ARTHUR is a Visiting Research Fellow in the English Department at the University of Liverpool.

PATRICIA BEER's books include *Moon's Ovary*, 1978.

ALAN BELL is Librarian of Rhodes House, Oxford.

BENJAMIN BLOCHER's books include *The Rough Persuasion: A Novel*, 1981.

P. B. CHICKLAND is Professor of Systems at the University of Lancaster.

JOHN CHILD's most recent book, *Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648-1789*, was published earlier this year.

VALENTIN CHIRIBOGAN is the editor of *The Penguin Book of Spanish Children's Literature*, 1983.

P. V. DANCY is Emeritus Professor of Chemical Engineering at the University of Cambridge.

ROSALIND DELMAR is currently writing a history of feminist ideas.

PERCY DICKINSON is Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms.

TOM DISCH's most recent book, *Black Tide*, was published last year.

## Among this week's contributors

IAN DONALDSON's *The Rapes of Lucretia* was published in 1982.

MICHAEL GOULDER's most recent book is *Why Believe in God?*, 1983.

ROBERT HEWISON is the author of *In Anger: Culture in the Cold War 1945-1960*, 1981.

ERIC HONSBRAWN's most recent book is *The Age of Capital*, 1975.

J. C. HOWDEN is a lecturer in New Testament Studies at King's College, London.

MICHAEL JAFFE's *Rubens and Italy* was published in 1977.

ANTHONY KING lectures in Roman archaeology at King Alfred's College, Winchester.

KENNETH KIRKWOOD is Rhodes Professor of Race Relations at the University of Oxford.

H. G. LAMOUR-HODGINS is Royal Society Research Professor of Experimental Psychology at the University of Sussex.

BRUCE P. LEMMAN is Reader in Modern History at the University of St. Andrews.

LUCY MAIR's *Anthropology and Development* will be published early in 1984.

GEORGE MARSHALL is the author of *Constitutional Theory*, 1971.

VALERIE MAXFIELD is a lecturer in Roman Archaeology at the University of Exeter.

IAN MCGILCHRIST's *Against Criticism* was published last year.

WILFRED MELLERS's *Beethoven and the Voice of God* was published earlier this year.

RONALD MILLS is a lecturer in the Literature Department at the University of Exeter.

ADAM NICOLSON is the author of *The Elfin Book of Long Walks in France*, 1983.

DAVID PARMOUR is Deputy Editor of *The Fiction Magazine*.

PAUL SLACK is a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

T. C. SHARP is Professor of Scottish History at the University of St. Andrews.

ADAM WATSON's *Diplomacy* was published last year.

JENNY WORMALD is British Academy Reader in Humanities and lecturer in Scottish History at the University of Glasgow.

## Competition No. 146

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the quotations which follow and to send us the answers so that they reach this office not later than November 18. A prize of £10 is offered for the first correct set of answers opened on that date, or failing that, the most nearly correct – in which case inspired guesswork will also be taken into consideration.

Entries, marked "Author: Author 146", on the envelope, should be addressed to the Editor, *The Times Literary Supplement*, Priory House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX. The solution and results will appear on November 25.

1 Gertrude's French was so bad that anyone could understand every word of it... But there was no light, either of comprehension, or of increased anger in the painter's glittering eyes; they went on looking intense.

2 My guess, nobody'll ever know where she comes from. She's such a goddam liar, maybe she don't know herself any more. But it took a year to smooth out that accent. How we did it finally, we gave her French lessons; after she could imitate French, it wasn't long before she could imitate English.

3 Weep not for little Léonie. Admitted by a French marquis, through loss of honour was a wrench; just think how it improved her French.

## Competition No. 142

Winner: A. Kenyon

Answers:

1 At the striking of noon on a bright day of March there occurred within casual radius of Brandon railway station and yet beyond the deepest pools of emptiness between the remotest stellar systems one of the infinitesimal ripples in the eternal silence of the First Cause which always occur when an exceptional, enlightened consciousness attains to living organism in this astronomical universe.

J. Cowper Powys, *A Gipsy's Romance*.

2 The wind howled dimly round the house standing by itself amidst the grey dusk of an early Autumn day, the occasional harsh cry of a seagull rising discordantly above the desolate broke the silence of the desolate waste.

Sapper, *The Black Circle*.

3 Between the moths of the Blackwater and the Cother, and the marshy tract veined and fretted by every part with water, it is a water-debated ground, and contained by a land, subject to the former, but maintained by the latter.

S. Baring Gould, *Melville*.

## Difficulties of the Kafkaesque

Sir, – Like Spinoza, Kafka has been interpreted – or appropriated – by rival critical traditions, mystical and rationalist. S. S. Prager's fine article "Difficulties of the Kafkaesque" (October 14) is a formidable, but not quite fair, manifesto of the latter.

Prager begins by castigating a 1928 TLS reviewer for putting strong emphasis on mystical or metaphysical elements in *The Castle* and *America*. Believed that 1940s interpretations at least succeeded in "shedding a good light" on Kafka's previous religious-allegorical "fantasy". Prager quotes with approval from John Updike's foreword to the new edition of the *Short Stories*: "Kafka epitomizes... sensitivity to the world beyond usefulness, flayed of its old life of social usage and religious belief..."

Prager then goes for game, set and match by prefacing a quotation from Prager's foreword to *Stories 1904-1924* with a view of Kafka's work which one would have thought displayed of for ever after Erich Heller's essay "The World of Franz Kafka" (1968). Heller's powerful essay, available in his book *The Disinherited Mind* (1972) is a cogent representation of the "religious" interpretation of the work.

Conscious of Borges's distinction as a creative literary artist, Prager then looks off a little in circumlocutions to his otherwise lucid style. Borges's foreword has, of course, a sense that transcends any argument about the validity of his interpretation: it offers valuable clues to features of Kafka's writings which have helped to shape Borges's own distinguished fiction.

What transcendent value? Which valuable clues? To what features of Kafka's works? Prager is going about and about to keep from his one tell-tale word: *Kabbalah*. This fails to convince in the Muir's "religious interpretations" is that they were Christian and not Jewish. The rationalist counter-attack now looks vulnerable because it is largely ignorant of or embarrassed by Jewish mysticism.

Towards the end of his article Prager's discomposure again. Reproaching the translator of *Stories 1904-1924* for neglecting the first names of characters, Prager says:

That sounds reasonable enough, until one turns to Kafka's diary entry for February 11, 1913, to find what importance he attaches to the fact that the name "Georg" has exactly the same number of letters as his own name Franz. The same is true of "Joel" of course.

Well, what importance? – unless, understood in his own unique way, Kafka's fascination with *gematria*, the cabalistic association of letters with numbers of Hebrew letters, central to the "Kabbalah", the Zohar?

What Prager disapprovingly quoted from Borges was this:

"Kafka's work could be defined, in a parable or series of parables on the theme of the moral relationship of the individual with his God and with God's incomprehensible universe."

But Borges's spiritual imagination is measured to the dimension of Kafka's mysticism, where Christian religious imagery were not, is clear from James Joyce's "Introduction" to *Borges's* "The Wind Howled Dimly Round the House" (1913), where he writes: "Borges is a Jew, and a very Jewish Jew."

Prager's "epitome" of Kafka's work is a "sensitivity to the world beyond usefulness, flayed of its old life of social usage and religious belief..."

Prager's "epitome" of Kafka's work is a "sensitivity to the world beyond usefulness, flayed of its old life of social usage and religious belief..."

Prager's "epitome" of Kafka's work is a "sensitivity to the world beyond usefulness, flayed of its old life of social usage and religious belief..."

halism as modified by Hasidism, might (like Spinoza) be judged "a complete heretic" too. But that not to the erudition and critical authority of a Heller or a Prager can dismiss or minimize this essential element without obscuring a true view of Franz Kafka. I shall attempt soon to show by publishing an examination of the astounding diary entry for June 25, 1914.

ROY OLIVER.

9 Falcon Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Sir, – Your reviewer S. S. Prager (October 14) does not say on what evidence Jost Schillemeit claims that Kafka's novel to which Max Brod gave the title *Der Verschollene* – meaning the man not heard of again, lost trace of, presumed dead – nor does he make it clear what a strain on credulity this claim is.

There is no obvious connection between this proposed title and the contents of the novel, and I know of no other work of Kafka of which this can be said. His titles are all prosaic and obvious references to the subject-matter, not loaded with extra meaning.

It cannot be argued that this title would have made sense if the book had been finished, for Max Brod records: "From what he told me I know that the incomplete chapter about the Nature Theatre of Oklahoma... was intended to be the concluding chapter of the work and should end on a note of reconciliation. In enigmatic language Kafka used to hint smilingly, that within this 'almost limitless' theatre his young hero was going to find again a profession, a stand-by, his freedom, even his old home and his parents, as if by some celestial witchery."

How can anyone possibly, in 1983, know better than Max Brod? Of the title Max Brod records: "Franz Kafka's manuscript bears no title. In conversation he used to refer to this book as his 'American novel', but later he called it simply *The Sinker*, after the title of the first chapter, which had appeared separately (1913)."

I. E. JONES.

29 Coudsford Road, Sidmouth, Devon.

## Schopenhauer

Sir, – It isn't possible, without making disproportionate demands on your space, and on your readers' interest, to demonstrate that Bryan Magee's second letter (October 14) wholly fails to cope with my original criticisms of his *The Philosophy of Schopenhauer*, while it sensibly refrains from dealing with my replies to his first letter. But here are some selected points:

1. Magee says that I "now admit" to two misquotations, as if I had previously denied that there were any. I said that I regretted that there were two small ones, but they didn't affect the sense of what Magee was saying. And Magee's claim that "he managed to miss out one word here, two words there, insert a word of his own", etc., is rendered absurd by the fact that the word I inserted was "Ryle" in square brackets, for "he", so that readers would know the subject-matter, and that all the other omissions were clearly signalled.

2. Magee says I missed the main point he was making in the quotation about Ryle, thereby showing that he has missed my main point, which was to express incredulity that anyone could think that Ryle's vitality and drive – and to draw attention to the solemn banality of Magee's remark that "most creative work" (I wonder which exceptions he has in mind) comes from "accident and drives" – normally unconscious.

3. Magee calls *The Concept of Mind* and "Wittgenstein's" – *Philosophical Investigations* – "the two widest-known books of linguistic philosophy" and says that "they are now thoroughly established as modern classics", the propriety of calling either of them, but especially the *Investigations*, works of linguistic philosophy is highly questionable. But while Wittgenstein's book is certainly a great and much-discussed work, Ryle's has taken its

place as a once-important one the power of which has wholly faded.

4. Magee talks of my by-passing "the fact of Schopenhauer's 'pervading influence on Wittgenstein'". It certainly doesn't pervade even the *Tractatus*, which, as a classic text in logical atomism, is totally independent of it, and it is wholly irrelevant to the later work.

5. Magee thinks that "the central body of Schopenhauer's philosophical system" is his epistemology and ontology, and that in a book on his philosophy it is natural to discuss these rather than his pessimism. It amuses me to think what Schopenhauer would have said to that. As Thomas Mann writes – a commentator whom I find more eloquent and persuasive than Magee: "All textbooks tell us that Schopenhauer is first the philosopher of the will and second the philosopher of pessimism. But actually there is no first and second, for they are one and the same, and he was the second because and by virtue of his being the first; he was necessarily pessimist because he was the philosopher and psychologist of the will."

6. Magee finds me "hopelessly at sea in Kantian philosophy" because I don't take Kant's or Schopenhauer's or Magee's say-so that in making space, time and causality subjective the antinomies are resolved, and gives three references to his book where he alleges he shows how they are; but all that he does, there or anywhere, is to say that they are.

7. If anyone is still interested: please check page 104 of Magee's book and see whether I have committed "a whooper", as he eloquently puts it. He thinks that "Schopenhauer became the first philosopher to marry a Kantian account of perception to a Kantian account of corresponding physical reality". I have no idea what that means. The Kantian account of perception that he is referring to is not something that it makes any sense to talk of as having a corresponding physical account. (But Magee is always at sea when he ventures to discuss the relations between philosophy and science.)

8. Magee's claim that "it is an elementary point in logic" that you cannot derive an "is" from an "is" is something for which he claims the support of "the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford". Intimidation, indeed! In the first place, to quote R. M. Hare in his support is rather like, to adopt a famous simile of Wittgenstein's, buying oneself a copy of the *Daily Express* to reassure oneself that what the Sun says is true; second, even if "at the end of the road" (Magee's characteristic phrase) one were to agree to some form of the celebrated "is-ought" gap, one would need to employ elaborate and highly sophisticated arguments for it, as Bernard Williams, Magee's second cited authority, would be the first to insist.

Enough – or rather, too much. I hope that your readers will by now be aware that Magee's attempts to rebut me are as absurd as I claimed in my review that his book was.

MICHAEL TANNER  
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

## The Pound / Ford Letters

Sir, – A bit of typewriter's verbal slide-around was added to my own in my review of *Pound / Ford: The Story of a Literary Friendship* (September 30). A sentence concerning references to the First World War in either man's letters to the other read here as follows: "The details of the two men's demagogues have read 'at few mentions should have read 'at few mentions found it received none at all, which is one of two fewer than the demagogues did. A small point, but one for the record; and the second half of the review might make a bit more sense if it is taken into account, since I spent a lot of time being puzzled by why this should be so."

ALAN JENKINS.

74 De Beauvoir Road, London N1.

## The Making of Modern Freedom

Sir, – From Donald Pennington's thoughtful reply (September 16) to my letter of September 2 there begins to emerge a delineation of issues about the making of modern freedom that have not been systematically raised, and therefore not usefully discussed, in the past half century. His letter indeed gives me ground to hope that the purpose behind my review earlier this year (January 21) of calling the attention of English historians to their long neglect of the making of modern freedom has been in some measure achieved.

It is evident from Mr Pennington's letter that on several important matters related to the making of modern freedom we are in agreement, but that on several others we are in serious disagreement and speak for two or more clusters of scholars who are also in serious disagreement. Surely the letters column of the TLS is not the forum where those disagreements can most profitably be treated. It would probably improve historical understanding if a group of historians brought their attention sharply to focus on issues related to the making of modern freedom that came to the fore between the accession of Elizabeth and the revolution of 1688, and the resolution of which at the time have subsequently provided the legal foundations on which free societies have been erected.

The prime purpose of a brief visit of mine to England recently was to seek help and support for a gathering there of historians, already more than casually interested in parliament and/or freedom in the early seventeenth century. There some of the issues that I have recently raised and on which Mr Pennington challenges me can be thoroughly explored. Towards persuading possible sources of support both that there are serious issues at stake and that the issues can and should be dealt with thoughtfully and without rancour, Mr Pennington's letter should be most effective, so I think him.

One can conceive it possible that J. P. Kenyon's letter (September 16) would have the opposite effect, and therefore for the sake of a worthy cause I am sure that he will be grateful to me for pointing out a misapprehension of his which, not corrected for, will vitiate his discourse of September 16. He appears to believe that the views about freedom which he ascribed to me there are those of American WASPS, such as I, and are held solely by white Anglo-Saxon protestant Yanks. Never mind that he scantly hints those views they are wholly aberrant and have been held during the past half century by nobody in the world, reasonably describable as a historian. Less firmly grounded is Professor Kenyon's faith that anyone who shares my mild reservations concerning the inspired Truth about English politics in the early seventeenth century as revealed to us during the recent decade or so, must, like me, be an American WASP.

Actually, not quite. I know of eight other historians who have publicly and explicitly assented to my old-fashioned and platitudinous reservations (so characterized by Professor Kenyon), or have expressed similar reservations of their own. Two of these platitude mongers, Christopher Hill and A. J. Woolrych, are elderly Englishmen, WASPS indeed, in a sense, but no second American WASPS. Two others, Derek Hirst and Clive Holmes, are notationally American, perhaps, since they teach in American universities. They do not meet my exacting standards for classification as American WASPS, however, having been born, brought up, and educated in the UK and, quite fortuitously, having received their training in history at Cambridge from the very same eminent don who prepared Professor Kenyon for his distinguished career. The other four old-fashioned ones – Professor Neanner, Rabb, White, and Zaller – are Americans and white, but Anglo-Saxon protestant, surely they are not. And me, I am not an Anglo-Saxon protestant, either, but an elderly

Jewish gent, born in Memphis, Tennessee over seventy-three years ago. It does seem to show, does it not, that the first step in explaining how the pigs got into the tree is to make quite sure that they are actually pigs, not cats or squirrels.

The trouble with errors of fact – nine out of nine, 100 per cent – so total and so public as Professor Kenyon's is that they are likely to make those who witness them suspect that their perpetrator has been less than perfectly careful in his other published statements.

J. H. HEXTER.

National Humanities Center, PO Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709.



















## Taught to lead

T. C. Smout

R. D. ANDERSON

Education and Opportunity in  
Victorian Scotland: Schools and  
Universities

384pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press.  
£25.  
0 19 822696 9

It is twenty years since George Davie published his very remarkable book, *The Democratic Intellect*, suggesting that nineteenth-century Scotland had enjoyed a university system that was open, distinctive and publicly responsive until wrecked by Anglicizing tendencies; and by implication painting the modern Scottish universities as narrow, mediocre and unresponsive. The principal of his university, Sir Edward Appleton of Edinburgh, was outraged by what he regarded as crass nationalism, sharing with his fellow principals, James Irvine at St Andrews and Hector Hetherington at Glasgow, an unhistorical view of Scottish universities as always having been what the last-named called "private institutions" — self-perpetuating, self-governing and under no orders from the State. It is one of R. D. Anderson's many achievements in this splendid book to show the degree to which the Scottish universities developed under minute state control of many things that could be regarded as part of academic freedom: entrance standards, subjects and hours of teaching, content of courses and structure of the curriculum. Sir Keith Joseph should be most interested.

The relationship between Davie's book and Dr Anderson's is a complex one: Davie wrote as a philosopher, about intellectual and cultural history as well as about institutions; Anderson writes as a historian, interested in secondary schools as well as in universities and far more aware of the historical dynamics of class interest. Anderson's analysis is more penetrating, but it is critical in an appendix of shortcomings in Davie's historical craftsmanship and the inadequacy of his Anglicization hypothesis to explain "the long and complex process by which the Scottish universities were

adapted, and adapted themselves, to the changing conditions of the nineteenth century". Anderson sees the key to this process in a three-way tension between the career needs of an aggressive Scottish urban middle class, the exigencies of the British state, and the inclinations of a professoriat that almost invariably contained more preservationists than innovators but that was nevertheless aware of not always finding a market for their traditional views. In this triangle, the points of which were not always clearly separate, the most determined pull was exerted by the middle class: "It is their demands which are the key to the history of higher and secondary education in our period". The main aim from the 1850s was to secure entrance for their children to the professions, to the civil service and to jobs in the Empire, in pursuit of which they often favoured greater uniformity between Scottish and English institutions, when they were trying to give their offspring British careers.

Each side in the innumerable debates about the content and purpose of secondary and university education was willing to appeal to the myth of John Knox and an erstwhile "democratic" education that had supposedly been freely available to all who had talent. In fact, even in the early nineteenth century the country parish schools provided opportunities of university entrance far more abundantly for the rural middle class than for the poor, and those who did get to the universities from the working class on the open access policy that survived until 1892 more often came as mature students. There is no evidence from the patchy surviving statistics that working-class participation fell as a result of the entrance exam. At Glasgow the "working-class" intake rose from 18.6 per cent of the men in 1860 to 24 per cent in 1910, a proportion as high as that in the later twentieth century. This is attributed partly to the policy of the Carnegie Trust, and partly to the fact that the Glasgow School Board developed a fairly successful secondary schooling system that, in their higher grade schools, gave a chance to relatively large numbers of children of skilled workers to reach the university. In Edinburgh, by contrast, the so-called "reform" of the endowed schools created a small handful of elite

establishments, heavily dominated by the Merchant Company, and thereby discouraged attempts by the public authorities to compete effectively. The working class in Edinburgh found its educational opportunities severely narrowed in consequence. How the middle class captured Heriot's Hospital after a long and bitter struggle with those who regarded it as a school for the underprivileged is a particularly sad and illuminating story.

In general, the effect of the developments in the universities noted by Anderson was to produce a student body that was older (entrance by 1890 tended to be at eighteen instead of at fifteen) that was for the first time enjoying a "corporate life" in its Student Unions and early halls of residence, and that was being actively encouraged to think of itself as a social and intellectual elite with a national mission to lead. A general degree with an essential element of philosophy was being replaced by a movement towards specialist and honours degrees — though not so soon apparently as Davie had suggested — and research was taking on a larger significance in the life of the professors and other university staff.

This is an extremely rich and detailed book, one of the best contributions yet made to the study of the Scottish nineteenth century. It needs to be read slowly and carefully, but its handling even of the controversies that surrounded the various mid-century commissions and their successors is a model of lucidity and judicious exposition. It is well supported by a series of invaluable statistical tables. It also constantly provides food for thought for anyone involved in modern education at any level. Dr Anderson's heart is itself clearly on the side of a more open university system than any at present outside Milton Keynes. He forces his views on no one, but he does quote with approval Ramsay MacDonald's highly germane critique of secondary education in 1914 as "a scheme for helping a few individuals to rise from one class into another" that "would fail, and ought to fail, if it were to form a new series of classes and sub-classes, of servants and masters, of subordinates and superiors determined by the schools through which they had gone". Perhaps Sir Keith Joseph will skip that bit.

index" history, of a kind sadly lacking in Scottish historiography, transformed into a delightful and fascinating book by Professor Donaldson's perceptiveness, comprehensive knowledge and elegant style.

It is set within a chronological framework, covering the period from the first act against Lutheran literature (1525) to Mary's execution in 1587; there are helpful chronological notes at the beginning of each chapter, but the author is not deflected into lengthy narrative accounts of particular events, and to that extent some background knowledge is, if not quite assumed, certainly required. Precisely because recent work on the Scottish Reformation has rightly reacted against the excesses of the Big Bang approach, in which a Calvinist God brought Scotland from dark to light in one swift movement in 1560, there is a tendency to over-relic and take religion out of the Reformation. This is refreshing to find it put back. Even if the spiritual of individuals can only be guessed at, it is still more convincing to suggest that Catholics and Protestants did think about the salvation of their souls as well as the well-being of their bodies, fitted to reduce the whole business to the purely political, or to assume that only one side had anything to be said for it.

But putting religion back complicates the issue, for if religious motives counted, how then did men line up in a Reformed Scotland ruled by a Catholic queen, even if the queen, in question, as it turned out, let down all Catholics who hoped for great things from the Pope to the east of Humber? This is the real strength of this book. By looking at the lists of those involved in a succession of crises, and only by so doing, it is possible to see

clearly the various factors which produced individual decisions. Sixteenth-century Scotland was still a very localized society, and ties of kinship and lordship powerful and pervasive; along with these went a respect for royal authority, and a desire to maintain it, of the particular ideological kind associated with a monarchy whose importance lay less in its executive than in its symbolic power: it welded the localities together into a kingdom. The intertwining of these secular considerations with the religious one — and the added dash of self-interest — has not hitherto been subject to sustained analysis: it is handled here with subtle sensitivity.

This is all encompassed in 151 pages of text, followed by very useful appendices (though the footnotes are briefer than one would like). Occasional questions arise. The reaction to Mary's marriage to Darnley is perhaps understated; Protestant fears, whether grounded on reality or rumour, were running high in the summer of 1565, and some of Mary's actions gave credibility to these fears. The queen's personal charm and appeal are evident; less so is her role in political management, which remains unresolved. The ruthless, high-handedness of Regent Morton might have been given more emphasis, especially in a chapter dealing with the reconciliation of Queen's and King's on a note of caution: there is more work to be done. But this short book has already taken us a long way forward. Mary Stewart's Scotland is a simple place, with shadowy two-dimensional people. Its society was complex, and so were the men in it.

## Clans on the march

John Childs

F. J. McLYNN

The Jacobite Army in England 1745:  
The Final Campaign

210pp. Edinburgh: John Donald.  
£15.  
0K5976 093 6

Historians of the eighteenth century have recently been showing a good deal of interest in Jacobitism, especially the interaction between the Tory party and the Jacobites under Walpole's administration. F. J. McLyynn has already published an account of the role of the French in "supporting" the rebellion of Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. His current book is concerned with another aspect of that same rebellion: the campaign of the Jacobite army in England between November 8 and December 20, 1745.

The book is written as a diary. For each day that the rebel army was on English soil, Dr McLyynn records its marches and movements, all the tactical and strategic decisions which were taken, and the general state of supply and morale. Rather less attention is given to the day-by-day reactions of the government in London and the operations of the Hanoverian armies of Wade, Ligonier, and Cumberland. It is all incredibly detailed. We are told where the Scottish soldiers quartered; how many stayed in each house; what they all had to eat and drink; who dined with the Prince; the precise times of departure and arrival and much, much more. As the clans advanced through the counties of the north-west, they were received with cautious hospitality, to which the army responded with good behaviour and firm discipline. On the return journey, the people of Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmorland could see very clearly why the political and military wind was blowing and treated the Jacobites with sullen indifference. Accordingly, with the morale of the soldiers at a low ebb and the point of behaving well to his possible subjects gone, Charles Edward allowed the high standard of discipline to sink. Whereas the outward march to Derby was a clear act of alarm and indeed, the retreat was littered with sniping, minor actions with militia and armed townspeople, and riotous affrays. As the author rightly stresses, the march to the south demonstrated that the majority of the local population probably cared little about whether a Stuart or a German sat on the throne. As the Jacobites withdrew, with the aggressive Cumberland snapping at their heels, it behaved the citizens to be a trifle more exact and overt in their displays

of political allegiance.

The most interesting aspects of the book deal with Marshal Wade and his weather. Wade is portrayed as an old, parsimonious, bad-tempered incompetent who was lucky to escape without being court-martialed for disobedience. The pathetically slow and ill-judged marches which he obliged his exhausted corps to make up and down the Great North Road were in stark contrast to the rapid and efficient operations of the Highlanders, under Lord George Murray. Throughout the campaign, the weather was frightful. Temperatures were arctic and deep snow lay over the fells of the Lake District and the Pennine chain. The clans were accustomed to life in such conditions; the Hanoverian army was certainly not. Usually, it did not campaign in winter but stayed snug in winter quarters.

McLyynn sees the crucial decision at Derby as a "close-run thing". The Prince's arguments in favour of pressing on to London just outweighed Murray's reasons for advocating a withdrawal into Scotland. If the rebels had marched on, neither Wade, Ligonier, nor Cumberland could have stopped them. Although an admirer of Murray as a tactical soldier, McLyynn describes him as "near defeatist" in his attitude at Derby and in his reluctance to support the initial entry of the Jacobite army into England after a long sojourn in Edinburgh. In fact, Murray and his followers did not cross into England on a show of mere strength south of the border but enable the English Jacobites to win out of the woodwork and continue the French that an invasion was a practical proposition. When neither Ligonier, nor Cumberland, nor the army of action. Had the Jacobites known about the parous state of George II's armies and the near-panic in London, then they might have steeled themselves to continue, but intelligence-gathering was not one of the Prince's strong points. The council of war at Derby clearly illustrated that the Jacobites were not used to military and political objectives. For the Prince, the invasion of England was a gamble to seize the throne. For Murray, it was a thermometer to test the political waters.

Principally, this is a narrative military history of a battle-less campaign. Comments and short passages of analysis are woven into the "diary" but, at times, these are almost overwhelmed by the sheer weight of detail and painstakingly researched detail. Those who are looking for a cool, modern account of the 45 will be disappointed. Personalities are scarcely visible through the mass of military minutiae.

## The old lines

Bruce Lenman

C. J. A. ROBERTSON

The Origins of the Scottish Railway  
System 1722-1844

421pp. Edinburgh: John Donald.  
£20.  
0 65976 027 8

There is a fairly extensive literature on Scottish railways, but the bulk of it is of a descriptive nature, with good studies of individual companies, such as O. S. Nock on the Caledonian and John Thomas on the North British, as well as competent overall studies such as John Thomas's survey of the railways of Lowland Scotland and the Borders. Among professional economic historians recent years have seen the irreversible takeover of the subject by the new econometric approach pioneered in America by writers like Robert W. Fogel. We know that the railways are great and good men for they have told us so themselves, but as a result of the need to supplement gaps in the surviving data or to build in extensive counter-factual hypotheses, their work is often remarkable for the way in which two of them can produce

answers to the same problem which are mathematically precise and totally contradictory. In writing the book which so obviously lies just behind the book C. J. A. Robertson had to decide how far he was going to accept the fashionable puberty rites of his profession.

Sensibly, he offers us a version of quantitative history based on counting surviving evidence rather than on advanced manipulation of it. The result may not be as exciting but it is solid and will endure. Among his main conclusions are that the railway was not one of the most interesting of the nineteenth century, that the actual costs of construction were high, that the railways were not a buoyancy of passenger traffic which helped their unstable finances. English capital had to be brought in at an early stage in the development of the system, with the establishment of the British and Caledonian lines across the Border, greatly accelerated the integration of the British economy. The later developments in the railways beyond the limits of this book tend to be dominated by the political prospect of the Railway Mail Act of 1840 which it never quite reached.

RELIGION

## Filial claims

J. L. Houlden

BARNABAS LINDARS

Jesus Son of Man: A Fresh  
Examination of the Son of Man  
Sayings in the Gospels in the Light  
of Recent Research  
244pp. SPCK. £15.  
0 281 04016 8

Did Jesus have an idea of himself which in any way corresponded to the Church's subsequent idea of him? Did he claim to be what the Christians claimed him to be? This is a matter of great (though not decisive) importance to both attackers and defenders of traditional Christian faith. The search for an answer has been one of the leading preoccupations of New Testament scholarship for two centuries and seems never-ending. It goes through phases of tedium and boredom, and then, almost to everyone's surprise, there is a new bit of contemporary evidence or a new light in which old evidence displays itself. It is an area where scholarly minutiae, so often, in relation to the Gospels, deeply irritating to those whose concern is primarily religious, really do have a bearing on faith.

The matter turns in large degree on the terms by which Jesus is either described himself or is described by others in the Gospel narratives. Prevalent among them is the expression "son of man", not only because it occurs so frequently but also because it appears virtually exclusively on Jesus's own lips; so there seems a good chance that whatever it means, he meant about his own person. But things are never so simple, and after centuries when it was taken to testify to Jesus's awareness of his human nature in the technical, doctrinal sense, historical and literary

studies have led to the meaning of the expression becoming problematic in the extreme. It has attracted suggestion after suggestion in monograph after monograph. Few have been totally discarded, yet no consensus has emerged. But then in 1967, in a postscript to the third edition of Matthew Black's *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Geza Vermes published material which placed the term more clearly than before in the context of first-century Jewish usage. From that point, slowly (and certainly without admission of death by those holding older views) a new and coherent picture has come into sight. It may now not be absurdly rash to say that, as far as its main lines go, the problem has been received as definitive a solution as mortal man has any business to ask. Barnabas Lindars's achievement, in his thorough and lucid study *Jesus Son of Man*, is to follow up the initiative of Vermes and the work of those who have written since, and to present the new approach as a rounded whole. In the course of it, he gives his own judicious account of numerous exegetical problems related to the main topic, and places it in the context of wider questions concerning the message and mission of Jesus.

There are three major issues connected with "son of man". What did the expression mean at the time of Jesus and how may he have been understood in using it? Is Jesus likely to have uttered all the sayings which contain it, and if not, how may distinctions be drawn? And what did it mean to the evangelists, who certainly saw it in the light of faith in Jesus, that is, used it Christologically?

The new approach has made its chief contribution in relation to the first question, which is decisive for the whole subject. It is plain that whatever precise sense it bore in the talk of first-

century Palestinian Jews, it was not, in their Aramaic, what it clearly is in the Greek Gospels, that is, a title to be put alongside Messiah, Lord, Son of God and other expressions by which Jesus was honoured and belief in him expressed. On the contrary, it meant strictly and commonly no more than "a man", though it might be used, somewhat enigmatically or ironically, when a person wished to refer to himself in identification with the human race in general: "a man in my position", "the likes of me". Lindars believes that not far behind nine of the sayings in the Gospels which include "son of man", it is possible to discern the use of this idiom, though of course the evangelists use it in its titular sense, taken for granted by the time they wrote. When Jesus says (Luke 11:30), "For as Jonah became a sign to the men of Nineveh, so will the Son of man be to this generation", his original sense is better put: "For as Jonah became a sign to the men of Nineveh, so a man may be to this generation." Thus, without making self-advertising claims, yet asserting his own task on behalf of God, Jesus points to the need for repentance.

Many of the sayings will not yield to this treatment, and Lindars believes that apart from the nine which he has isolated, all the others are the product of the developing Greek tradition. Many of them in fact are closely related to one or another of the authentic nine, but they witness to the creative work of the evangelists or other Christian teachers before them. While some will hold out for the view that Jesus, talking Aramaic, initiated a wholly unprecedented titular use of the term and somehow made sense of it to his hearers, it is on the question of the stock of authentic sayings that most subsequent discussion is likely to arise. Some will wish to push more sayings into the authentic category, others will

think that even some of the nine reflect the evangelists' work and perhaps that the term "son of man" as applied to Jesus is wholly the work of the Church's faith — a piece of early theology not biography.

As, on any showing, this is partly the case, how did the shift occur? It came about largely through the constructive application to Jesus of an Old Testament text, Daniel 7:13, where the Aramaic idiom occurs with its context so appropriate to Christian belief about Jesus's triumph in God's purposes, that Christians speedily turned to it as a major expression and bulwark of faith. From that marriage of idiom and text, the use of "son of man" in the Gospels is derived. But before that stage the truth seems to be that this phrase, which has better claim than any to be the vehicle of Jesus's self-

reference and self-understanding, expresses reticence, enigma, irony and absorption in the cause of God.

Perhaps the main fruit of these new understandings is to reinforce a tendency. It grows plainer that Jesus was consumed with the reality of God and the coming decisive revelation of God's rule, the cause for which he was ready to die. He was not so concerned with his own precise role in the matter. It then becomes plain too that as Christians came to preach Jesus himself, moving him to the centre of their picture, a considerable change was taking place. It is a change which should never be forgotten and, while certainly there are ways of justifying it, such justification should never be treated as superficial. That way lies obscurity and a falsely proportioned religion.

## Epistolary revisions

Michael Goulder

RICHMOND LATTIMORE  
(Translator)

Acts and Letters of the Apostles  
Newly translated from the Greek  
207pp. Faber. £10.95.  
0 374 100839

Richmond Lattimore is a distinguished classical scholar, whose translations include all Homer and Pindar, and many of the Greek tragedies; this volume is the second half of the New Testament, following *The Four Gospels and the Revelation* which appeared in 1979 and was well received. It may be said at once that the present translation has many virtues: the style flows and is pleasing; the penetration of the Greek language is as with the classical ones; and the reader is often made to think, by some novelty of expression which challenges his familiarity. On many occasions I pondered, and thought the proposal worth making. The famous passage from Philippians may do for an example (the parentheses are from the Revised Standard Version): "Keep this purpose (mind) in yourselves, one which is (is yours) also in Christ Jesus. He was in the form of God, but did not think to seize on the right to be equal with God (did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped), but he stripped (emptied) himself by taking the form of a slave, being born in the likeness of a human being (men); and being found in the guise of a human being (human form), he humiliated (humbled) himself and was (became) obedient to the death (unto death), death on the cross." At every point there is something to be said for Lattimore's version.

Sometimes, naturally, I felt he was not improving on the traditional versions. "They cried aloud in a great voice" and "to outrage the church" are not quite English, and in the great peroration of Romans 8 "in all this we are more than winners" raises unhappy echoes of the 230. But rather than multiply such points, which may vary with the reader, it may be better to take a stretch of the translation, and note both felicities and misstatements: for the reader should be warned that

"Make the best of your condition" is the right meaning, and a fine turn of phrase. "The impending peril" is also right, though *anankē* is worse than peril, it is the great tribulation at the end of the world.

It would have been helpful if the reader had been told what text was being translated; it wasn't the standard Nestle-Aland, 26th edition, but the readings seemed reputable. So caveat lector, but if he does, he will find many things worth his while.

### Information, please

Oscar Wilde: letters which have come to light since the publication of *The Letters*, 1962, for a supplementary volume.

Rupert Hart-Davis.  
Marke-in-Swaledale, Richmond,  
Yorkshire.

Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938), Austrian feminist and author: any information, particularly concerning the *Nachlass* brought to London by Käthe Bräun-Prager, for research purposes.  
Harriet Anderson.  
45 Cholmeley Crescent, London N6.

Lola M'Nies (1818-1881): any information about her travels in Europe, for a biography.  
Diane L. Day.

Department of Art History, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802.

Herbert Samuel, 1st Viscount Samuel (1870-1963): letters and recollections for a biography.

Bernard Wasserstein.  
History Department, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254.

Peter Sedgwick: letters and papers (preferably photocopies), for a memorial volume.

Steven Lukes.  
Raphael Samuel.  
Peter Sedgwick Memorial Volume, Pluto Press, The Works, 105A Torrington Avenue, London NW5 2RX.

The State of Old Volumes: yearbooks of this club for the period 1910-18 (sets in the British Library, National Library of Scotland are incomplete); for a biography of Arthur Dossy.  
John Adlard.  
146 Holland Road, London W14.

John Adlard